Die Sabbathi. 24. Junii 1643.

IT is this day Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, That the meeting of the Assembly of Divines, together with some Members of both Houses of Parliament, shall be on Saterday the first of July 1643. at nine of the clock in the morning, in the Chappell commonly called, King Henry the seventh his Chappell in the City of Westminster: And hereof all parties herein concerned are to take notice, and make their appearance accordingly.

Jo. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

London printed for *John Wright* in the Old Baily, 26. June 1643.

England, Parliament

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Die Sabbathi 24. Junii 1643.

IT is this day Ordered by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, That all Ministers in their severall Churches on Wednesday next at the publike Fast, and at all other times afterwards in their Prayers before their Sermons, shall earnestly and particularly pray for the speciall assistance and blessing of God upon the Assembly of Divines and others, appointed to meet at Westminster on Saterday the first day of July next to be consulted with by both Houses of Parliament in matters concerning Religion.

And that this Order be forthwith printed and sent to all Parish Churches.

Jo. Brown Cler. Parliamentorum.

Printed at *London* for *John Wright* in the Old Baily 26 June 1643.

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MERCVRIVS AVLICVS,

Communicating the Intelligence and affaires of the Court, to the rest of the KINGDOME.

The eight and twentieth VVeeke.

K. pp. Oxford

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

SUNDAY. *July* 9.

YOu heard before of the great defeate given by His Majesties Forces to Sir *William Waller*, upon *Lands downe* hill; and with what Stratagem he stole away with his horse and cannon: as also how His Majesties soldiers being tired with extreame labour in so long and difficult a fight, withdrew themselves the morrow after into their owne quarters. Which being observed by the Rebels, they husbanded that little resting time which His Majesties Commanders tooke to refresh their soldiers, to the best advantage; in drawing together their routed and disordered foote, and filling up their broken companies with some new supplies. And to this end *Waller* sends out his *Emissaries* to the parts adjoyning, to informe the people that he had given a notable defeate to the *Princes* Army, and broken the whole body of his Forces; and therefore if they would now cheerefully come in (before those scattered Forces were againe united) and shew their zeale to Religion, Lawes, and Libertie, by joyning with him in pursuit of so

great a victory; they might ſoone make an end of the *Cavaliers*, and conclude the warre. Which falſe report being credulouſly enterteined by ſome factious ſpirits, who have had too much influence on that part of the Countrey, they began to drawe together into a body, and to the number of 3 or 4000 advanced as farre as the *Deviſes*; not doubting but great multitudes of abuſed people would be very ſpeedily added to them. But the Earle of *Craford* being then at *Marleburgh* with his troopes of horſe, came ſooner to the worke then was expected: and being withall exaſperated by ſome vile uſage which they ſhewed his *Quarter-Maſter*, hanged up one of the Rebels (who had beene pardoned once before) and committed the *High Conſtables* and others who had beene moſt active, to the Caſtle-priſon, untill His Majeſties further pleaſure were declared in it; and with good words diſmiſſed the reſidue in peace to their owne dwellings. The terrour of which ſeaſonable execution together with the diſcovery of the cheat which was put upon them, ſtopped the intended riſing of the Country people, and fruſtrated the cunning *Rebels* of their expectation.

It was advertiſed this day from *London*, that the prevailing faction being fleſhed in bloud by the murder of thoſe two worthy Gentlemen, Maſter *Tomkins* and Maſter *Chaloner*, whom they moſt barbarouſly had put to death upon Tueſday laſt, intended to proceed to the condemnation of ſome other *innocents*, whom they had marked out to the ſlaughter. But the ſame day came letters from the Lord *Fairefax* to the remaining partie in the two Houſes of Parliament, acquainting them ingeniouſly that he was totally defeated at *Bradford-more*, his Army loſt, and his owne perſon in great danger, unleſſe ſupplies came ſooner in, then he had reaſon to expect, or they could poſſibly ſend unto him. Which did ſo coole them for the preſent, that they deſiſted from the barbarous and ſavage courſe before reſolved on: not ſo much on compunction of conſcience (as it after proved) as on the ſudden fright, and horrible aſtoniſhment which unexſpectedly had fallen upon them, on the reception of thoſe Letters. For, as was after certified by letters of the 10 of *July*, on Saturday laſt the *Councell of Warre* (whoſe names

names you had before in the former weeke) fell roundly to their worke againe, and passed a speedy sentence of condemnation on one Master *White:* and had done the like to Master *Hampden*, whom His Majestie had sent with his last gracious Message of the 19th of *May*, about renewing of the Treaty; but that his Physician Doctor *Wright* made an *Affidavit*, that he was so sicke, that it would endanger his life to come abroad; which cauled them to put off the businesse till the Wednesday following.

MONDAY, *July* 10.

It was certified by Letters from the West this day, that the Lord Marquesse of *Hertford* thinking fit to change his quarters, in regard the provisions of the Country, where he was, began to faile him, moved with his army towards *Wilts* Notice being come to *Waller*, who had by this time gathered up a great part of his broken foot, he moved also after him: and falling suddainely on his *Rere*, when he conceived he was not looked for, thought to have gained some notable advantage by it. But the Commanders of His Majesties forces foreseing providently what was like to follow, had put such able men into the *Rere* of the armie, that *Waller* found a sharper welcome then he did expect: insomuch that he was forced to fall off againe with the losse of 140 men. It was also signified in the said letters, that *Waller*, by the accession of those troopes of horse and *Curassiers* which Sir *Arthur Haselrig* had brought from *London*, was now growne pretty strong in horse, and therefore it was humbly desired, that for the speedier ending of the worke in those parts, His Majestie would spare them such supplies of horse, as his occasions would permit. Which being taken into consideration, His Majestie gave order that the *Brigade* of the Lord *Wilmot* (Lieutenant Generall of His Majesties horse) that *Brigade* consisting of 3 Regiments, should that day march towards them; besides the Troopes of the Earle of *Craford*, which were appointed the day before, to take the charge of certaine loades of Ammunition, sent by His Majestie to supply their exigencies.

There had beene a report on Saturday, that Sir *Arthur Haſelrig* was dangerouſly wounded in the fight at *Lands-downe*, which was this day ſeconded from thence; but moſt of all confirmed by letters from *London*, in which was certified, that he was prayed for yeſterday, being Sunday, in many churches of that City. A very pregnant argument, in my opinion, of his ill condition. It was alſo ſignified in the ſaid letters, that on a ſpeech raiſed peradventure by themſelves on Thurſday laſt, Her Majeſty intended to draw her forces into *Norfolk and Suffolk*, they diſpatched Sir *John Holland* (a man not very pliable to their deſires, and therefore fit to be removed ſomewhat further off) together with Sir *John Pots*, to raiſe the forces of thoſe Countries, and to prepare them for reſiſtance. As alſo that for the better advancement of the ſervice there it was hotly preſſed by Maſter *Strode*, that their Deputy Lieutenants of thoſe Counties for the command of the *Militia*, might have power to execute *martiall law* in caſe the trained bands ſhould refuſe (to ſerve againſt their Soveraigne.) So little ſenſe they have of thoſe many miſeries which they have brought already on this wretched nation, and of the innocent blood they have lately ſhed, that they do every day deviſe new courſes to adde to their owne ſinnes, and the publick ruine.

Tuesday. *July* 11.

By letters bearing date from *London* the day before, it was this day certified, that the Miniſters of their *Aſſembly* being met on Thurſday according to their firſt adjournment, fell preſently (for who could looke for other from thoſe zealous *Goſpellers*) upon the altering of the 39 Articles, ſo ſolemnly agreed upon in the beginning of the Reformatiõ of this Church of *England*, ſo long maintained, ſo often by themſelves ſubſcribed, the contents whereof were ſealed with the blood of ſo many proteſtant martyrs. Notice of this being brought to the *Lower Houſe*, caused it to be diverſly ſpoke of, ſome wiſer then the reſt declared that it was not within the power of their Commiſſion, to alter either the *Doctrine* or *Diſcipline* of the:

the Church, which had beene formerly eſtabliſhed (I marveile then what tis they would have them doe:) and thereupon the *Brethren* being thus circumſcribed, and the ſpirit bounded, they appointed 3 *Committees* out of the whole body, to take the ten firſt Articles into conſideration, and to make ſuch explanations on them, as might beſt fit the ſenſe of the Lord *Say*, and others of the Committees for Religion. It was advertiſed alſo, that on the ſame day thoſe of the *Lower Houſe*, which have the conduct of this buſineſſe, preſcribed a forme of oath, and certaine politicke inſtructions, to be impoſed on the *Aſſembly* to make them ſervilely obſequious unto their Commands: and yet ordained a *faſt* to be held at *Weſtminſter* on the morrow after, for the good ſucceſſe of the *Aſſembly*, which they reſolved before hand ſhould ſucceed no otherwiſe, then as themſelves had predetermined.

This day came alſo newes from the Earle of *Craford*, (who was ſent away the day before for the Convoy of certaine loades of Ammunition,) at firſt reported very doubtfully, as if his whole Regiment had beene cut off by *Waller*, and all his Ammunition had fallen thereby into the hands of the *Rebels*. But upon examination of the buſineſſe, it proved onely this, that being come neare to the *Deviſes*, he heard that *Waller* had ſent forth a good part of his Army to encounter with him, and take his Ammunition from him: which he being not able to prevent, if he had ſtood to it, hid the Match and Powder in convenient places, wherein he might be ſure to find it, made a ſafe retreat, and brought off his whole Regiment without any loſſe.

And this day Prince *Maurice* and the Marqueſſe of *Hertford* came with a good ſtrength of Horſe to *Oxford*, leaving their foot (which they knew ſufficient to deale with *Waller*) at the *Deviſes*, and the next morning Prince *Maurice* (Sir *John Byrons* Brigado being added to his Highneſſe Horſe) went backe to the *Corniſh* Foot: the Marqueſſe who who was ſomewhat tyred by his late poſting journey (an exerciſe he was not uſed to) ſtaying behinde to refreſh himſelfe, and follow after.

WEDNESDAY. *July* 12.

It was advertiſed this day, that Letters had beene ſent by the Earle of *Eſſex* to the remaining party in both Houſes, to let them underſtand the weake condition of their Forces under his command, & the great loſſe their Forces had ſuſteined in other places; and to adviſe them, whileſt they had yet ſome ſtrength remaining, to addreſſe an humble Petition to His Majeſtie for the obtaining of a ſafe and convenient peace. Which Letters being favourably entertained amongſt many of the Lords, found not ſo kind an acceptation amongſt ſome in the Lower Houſe: who as they had beene alwayes enemies to the peace of the Kingdome, ſo were they more averſe now from it then they had beene formerly, in regard they had received credible information, (if they did not make the ſame themſelves) that His Majeſties Forces in the *Weſt* had beene worſted by Sir *William Waller*: yet to avoid the *odium* which might fall upon them, had they wilfully declined the buſineſſe, they thought it beſt to make a reference thereof to their friends (or rather Maſters) the Citizens, whom they knew how to worke to their owne concluſions: and did accordingly ſo contrive the matter, that *Iſaack* and his faction did ſo abhominate and deteſt the meere name of peace, that rather then ſuch a motion ſhould be hearkned to, they would engage themſelves to raiſe preſent money to maintaine the warre, and raiſe ſuch Forces in the Citie as ſhould ſufficiently ſerve to purſue the project of bringing the whole Kingdome to confuſion. Which being ſignified to their good Subjects in the *Lower Houſe*, there was no further ſpeech of deſiring peace, though very little hopes to uphold the warre.

For as was certified this day alſo, their deare friend *Iſaack* had called his well-affected Zelots to the *Guild-Hall* on Friday laſt, to ſubſcribe a Petition worſe then the former *Remonſtrance* of that Citie (whereof you heard in a former weeke of this *Mercurius*:) the iſſue and reſult of the conſultation being, that all men ſhould ſhut up their ſhops, and joyne in an independent

dent Army, which ſhould not be commanded by ſo cold a Generall as the Earle of *Eſſex*, but runne a ſpeedier and more zealous courſe for the preſervation of the good *Members* and the *Common-wealth*. But it was certified withall, that few of quality and reputation did appeare at the meeting; and few of thoſe that did appeare were willing to liſt themſelves under *Iſaack's* Colours: and that though Maſter *Pym* pleaded very eloquently for ſupplies of money to pay their Army, which elſe he ſaid (and may perhaps therein be too true a Prophet) would very ſpeedily disband; yet he prevailed ſo little by his *Rhetoricke*, that no ſupply is yet come in, nor any viſible way appearing of ſupply hereafter; the odious buſineſſe of the *Exciſe* being coldly followed, and like to yeild no preſent money, which is that they want. Inſomuch that whereas a deſigne had beene ſet on foot for advancing money, under pretence of gayning *Newcaſtle*, and making themſelves maſters of the *Coale* trade there; which came in very ſlowly, and took little effect, eſpecially ſince their great loſſes in the *North*: a *Bill* was read on Saturday in the Lower Houſe, for taxing all the Citizens to ſuch ſummes of money as they ſpent yearely in *Sea-coles*, that ſo they may obtaine by force what they cannot get by plot and favour.

It was alſo certified this day, that the Lord *Grey* and Colonell *Cromwell* being reconciled, had drawne their joynt Forces towards *Dunſmore* heath; and cauſing a report to be ſpread abroad, that the Queene was comming with an Army of outlandiſh *Papiſts* to deſtroy the religion of the Land, and bring in *Popery*, occaſioned very great multitudes of ſeduced people to come thither to them, in hope to intercept the Queene in Her paſſage hither. But on the firſt report of Prince *Ruperts* coming, (who when the Earle of *Eſſex* made towards *Bedfordſhire*, wheeled about this way) this great cloud diſperſed; the brave Captaines made as much haſte as any, to hide their faces from that dreadfull Prince.

THURSDAY. *July* 13.

This morning His Majeſtie attended by many of His Lords,

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the Gentlemen of His Troope, and many others of His Officers and faithfull Servants went to meet the QUEEN, who lodged at *Stratford* upon *Avon* the night before: Prince CHARLES and the Duke of YORK riding alſo forth with moſt chearfull countenances, to receive the bleſſings of ſo deare and renowned a Mother. The place made happy by the meeting of theſe excellent Perſonages, whom the unplacable malice of ſeditious men had ſo long divorced, was *Edge-hill*; a place before ſufficiently famous for the good ſucceſſe which God there gave His Majeſtie, againſt the Rebellious Army raiſed againſt Him; but farre more gratefull to poſterity, in being the place deſigned for this bleſſed enterview. A ſight ſo acceptable to all ſorts of people, great multitudes whereof attended to behold the meeting, that with their loud and joyfull acclamations they added much to the ſolemnities of this happy day, and made it little leſſe triumphant then their day of marriage. The due ſolemnities and mutuall careſſes being once performed, their Majeſties came that night to *Wroxton*, and there lodged together. Curſed will they be (and ſo they finde themſelves by this time) who forced ſo tedious a ſeperation of theſe ſacred bodies, whoſe ſoules are ſo entirely linkt in divine affection.

It was advertiſed this day from *London*, that on the reading of the Letters from the Earle of *Eſſex*, in the *Lower Houſe* (whereof you heard before on *Wedneſday*) the Zelots there grew into very great diſtempers, though others very much commended and approved the Counſaile. Inſomuch that Maſter *Vaſſall* (one of the Burgeſſes for *London*) moved exceeding earneſtly, that their *Generall* ſhould be preſſed to ſpeake more plainely: and that if after the expence of two millions of treaſure, without any effect, he had a minde to lay downe Armes, he ſhould let them know it; and that there wanted not as good Souldiers as he which would take them up. Which motion, though it tooke not in the Houſe for the preſent, yet generally (all about the Citie) they have deſigned *Waller* for the place, whoſe Conqueſts are their daily diſcourſe: but you may heare them change their tone ere the weeke be out. So implacable are they againſt all inclinations to peace, as that this Letter of their

their owne Generall (who beſt knowes his and their ſtrength) ſhould thus inflame them, but whether it gave them cauſe thus to ſleight him, the Letter it ſelfe will ſhew; which within few houres you ſhall ſee in print.

FRIDAY. *July.* 14.

This was a day of joy, & moſt happy tidings, from the beginning to the end. Newes came betimes to Towne by Sir *Robert Welch* who was ſent on purpoſe with that errand, that the Troopes of horſe, which His Majeſtie had aſſigned for the *Weſterne* ſervice, being come on Thurſday about foure in the afternoone, within three miles of the *Deviſes*, were met with by the Rebels forces, who lay betwixt them and the Towne, on *Roundway-Downe* (for ſo the place is uſually called) to hinder them from joyning with the reſt of the Army. The fight was firſt begun betwixt ſome Regiments of horſe on each ſide, and carried for a time on both ſides with equall ſucceſſe, But at laſt the *Rebels* horſe beginning to retreate to the reſt of their ſtrength, which lay not farre off on an hill, *Waller* drew out his Foot, and commanded them to give the on-ſet; which whilſt they repaired to doe, the beaten Horſe moſt valiantly fled the field, and left the Foot (as uſually they doe) unto ſlaughter, all of which (very few excepted) were either killed or taken Priſoners. *Waller* himſelfe perceiving how the world went with him, followed his fugitive Horſe, with as much diligence and ſpeed as could be; and (as 'tis ſaid) got a moſt terrible fall in his haſty flight, which endangered his life; leaving His Majeſties Forces abſolute Maſters of the field.

And we may clearely ſay this was a moſt abſolute victory, for His Majeſties ſouldiers totally routed the Rebels Army, ſlew full 600 of them in the place, tooke above 900 priſoners, tooke All their cannon, being 7 faire braſſe peeces, All their Ammunition, which was a very great quantity, All their waggons and Baggage, among which one Cart loaden with Manacles (for the Liberty of the Subject) with all the Victuall which that ſeditious Country had abundantly brought in, Tooke alſo all their

Armes, but what the fugitive Troopers had in their hands: alſo 28 Colours of foot, 9 Cornets of horſe, and left not one *Rebell* but what was either killed, taken priſoner, or narrowly ſaved his life by his heels. *Waller* had formerly at ſeverall times ſurprized 113 of the Kings ſouldiers, which 113 were now all releived, together with ſuch other goods and plunder as he heretofore had gained at *Malmsbury* and *Hereford*, But that which made the Victory moſt ſweet, was that few of His Majeſties ſouldiers were ſlaine in this ſervice, and not any of note but that worthy and valiant Gentleman Maſter *Dudly Smith*, who made the Rebells pay deare for his life before they had it. What eminent ſervice was done by particular men, I ſhall not mention, the chiefe Commanders, and ſuch as in this expedition (we are ſure) deſerved beſt, being unwilling to be named, as ſenſible that God Almighty's extraordinary mercy wrought this bleſſing for His Majeſty; for this conflu ence of Rebellious Forces were almoſt treble to thoſe His Majeſty now ſent, the Rebels having five Regiments of foot conſiſting of about 2500. ſix Regiments of horſe containing full 2000, beſides 500 dragooners, with 8 peeces of braſſe ordnance; the forces ſent by His Majeſtie being but 1500 horſe only, with a ſmall peeces of Cannon. And 'tis worth your notice, that on *Thurſday* laſt, when God granted His Majeſty this exceeding great victory, on that very day (and the ſame houre too) theſe Legiſlative Hypocrites were at the height of their *Thankſgiving*, for the diſcovery of the pretended plot; that is, for murthering Maſter *Tomkins* and Maſter *Chaloner*: But whether their blaſphemous prayers, or theſe Gentlemens innocent blood, cryed louder for vengeance is not eaſily reſolved. This we are ſure of, that two or three more ſuch *Thankſgiving-daies* as this laſt, will quite diſpatch the buſineſſe.

But the great bleſſing of the day, was the Queenes Majeſties ſafe comming to the Citie of *Oxford*, into which ſhee made a moſt triumphant and magnificent entrie: the Soldiers being placed on each ſide of the Streets with their Muskets charged, both to enlarge and guard the paſſages, and every houſe by or neere which ſhe was to paſſe, thronged with ſpectators

ſtators to behold her. In the firſt place there went the Carriages for the remove of her Court, then followed the Servants Troope, commanded by Sir *William Killegrew*, after them his Majeſties Gentlemen *Pentioners*, and other of their Majeſties ſervants and domeſtick Officers; the Trumpets and loud Muſick ſounding all as they paſſed along. Next came the Heralds in their Coates, the Sergeants at Armes bearing their Maces; and next immediately before their Majeſties the Earle of *Forth* Lord Generall of his Majeſties Armie, and the Earle of *Dorſet* Lord Chamberlaine of her Majeſties houſhold. Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Richmond* rid on that ſide of the Coach, on which their Majeſties ſate: and in the Rere of all followed the Gentlemen of his Majeſties Troop. At *Catervoix* (or *Carfax*) being in their paſſage, the Major and his Brethren entertained her Majeſtie with an Engliſh Speech, delivered by Maſter *Carter* the Towne Clerk in the name of the Citie; and preſented her with a Purſe of Gold. At *Chriſt Church* ſhe was waited for by the *Vice-Chancellour* and the Heads of the Houſes: and at *Merton Colledge* which was provided for her lodging, welcomed with an Oration by Doctor *Strode* Oratour of the *Univerſitie*: the common people all the way following with loud acclamations.

SATURDAY. *July* 15.

It was this day certified from *London* by Letters dated *July* 13. that the *Aſſembly* having celebrated their needleſſe *faſt*, proceeded to conſider of the ten firſt *Articles*, which they were not only to explaine and fit unto the ſenſe of the *Houſe*, but to abjure the contrary hereſies and opinions, according to that explanation: that in the *Oath* preſcribed, which before we ſpake of, they promiſed and ſwore, not onely to imbrace the truth when it ſhould evidently appeare, but to ſubmit their private opinions unto the judgement of the *Aſſembly*; (which was eſteemed an heavie yoke upon the conſcience in preceding times when it was but pretended) that the *Miniſters* were very much awed and over-ruled by the *Lay-Elders*, eſpecially by

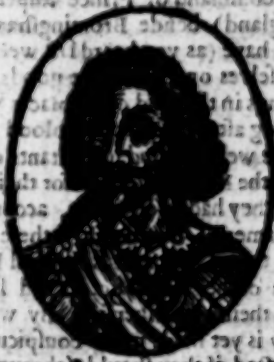
their Masters of the *Lower House*, and that not onely in matters of forme, but in points dogmaticall and of divine consideration, wherein Sir *Benjamin Rudyer*, and learned Master *Rowse* tooke most upon them: and finally, that they are very busie in seeking out the Originall Copie of the *Articles*, out of an hope to finde some notable alteration, in the late impressions; whereof I am assured they will misse their marke. And it was also signified, that though the holy *Assembly* went somewhat forwards, yet the holy *Covenant* lately made went very backward; it being taken but by few, & by most neglected,

This day there came to towne 150. carriages of Cannon, Armes, and Ammunition, which the Queenes Majesty brought with Her all the way shee came: the Army which attended for the guard of her person being designed for some particular imployments the day before their Majesties came to *Oxford*; whereof you shall hereafter heare, as occasion serves.

And now *Mercurius* (forsooth) *Civicus* offers you some newes; and first he tells you, that *Sir* William Waller *hath taken the Earle of* Craford *and all his Troopes prisoners*, (that is, *Waller* hath taken his heeles, and let 900 of his Souldiers be led this day prisoners into *Oxford*, which that Earle and other brave Commanders routed last Thursday.) Secondly, he sayes, *That a Message came from* Oxford *to his Excellency, to desire him to propound some Propositions to the King*, (that is, His Excellency sent a Letter to the *Speaker*, to tell him all was lost, unlesse the King would treat.) Thirdly, *That the Lord* Grey *and Colonell* Cromwell *set on the* Queenes *Army, tooke some prisoners, and beat the rest backe into* Staffordshire, (that is, Her Majestie tooke *Burton* upon *Trent* in *Staffordshire*, and met no Forces but the Kings at *Edge-hill*.) Fourthly, *That on Friday last* 2500^l *went to the Army from the Citie*, (indeed there should have gone 500^l, but the Members sent that odde pittance to their banke beyond Sea.) Lastly, (for Citizens will talke long if you'l heare them) he sayes *Sir* Thomas Fairefax *hath beaten the Kings Forces out of* Selby, (that is, Sir *Thomas* his Lady will beat him, for leaving her behinde when he runne away from *Leedes*.

FINIS.

The Earle of Warwick's valiancy,
Sir William Waller's fidelity,
The Kentish Malignants destiny,
The Cities loyalty.



The noble Earle of Warwick.

Mercurius Civicus.

LONDONS INTELLIGENCER.

OR,

Truth impartially related from thence to the whole Kingdome, to prevent mis-information.

From the 18. of July, to Friday, July 28. 1643.

ON Sunday last, being the three and twentieth of this instant July, by the information of some Troopers (serving under the command of the truly valiant, Sir William Waller) who that day came to London, it was signified, that they left Sir William with fifteen hundred horse the day before at Northampton, and that he had left five hundred horse behinde him for the securing of the City of Bristol, if the enemy should, during his absence from those parts (which will not be long) make any attempt upon it.

By true Intelligence from Glocester on Munday last, it is certainly informed, That that City was not besieged by the Cavaliers (as was formerly reported) but that about 300. of the Kings Forces came lately and faced it, where upon the inhabitants issued out with a party of horse upon them, and suddenly dispersed them.

The Forces under the command of Prince Rupert (not forgetting his and their burning love to England) beside Brumingsham, and some other places formerly ruined by them, have (as you heard last week) lately burned Shawell, and not contenting themselves opely with the goods and houses, and utter destruction of all other things in that and other places where they become Conquerours, but also thirsting after the precious blood of men, have lately executed and hanged up some well-affected inhabitants of that Town, and in some places of Glocestershire the Ministers once for their deniall to renounce the solemn Covenant which they had lately taken, according to the appointment of both Houses of Parliament: so cruell are these nefarious miscreants, to inforce men, contrary to their Consciences, and all Laws of nature or nations, to renounce their solemn oathes made unto God for the defence of the true Protestant Religion, and their own Liberties. By which the extream injustice and malice of the enemy is yet made more conspicuous, and by this we may guesse what is to be expected, if they should (through the stupidity of the Protestants in this Kingdome) become Masters or Conquerours over it: which should the rather incourage all men, who love either God, their King, or Country (considering these and other inhumane actions of Popish Cavaliers) to joyne together with the Parliament, and to contribute their utmost assistance for the utter extirpating of this viperous brood of Incendiaries, especially having so fit an opportunitie as is now presented and set forth in the Petition and Propositions lately drawn up by the well-affected Citizens of London, for the raising a powerfull Army for the rescuing his Majestie from that blood thirsty Popish crue, under whose protection, and by whose Commission (as they pretend) they have already shed so much innocent Protestant blood, that so, such wicked miscreants as those being removed from before him, his Throne might be established in righteousnesse and justice; which is, and alwaies hath been the only drift of the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament.

On Tuesday July 25. there came forth in print the large Declaration of the House of Commons, concerning the rise & progresse of the rebellion in Ireland, together with the examinations of persons of quality, where it is made apparent who were and still are the promoters of that cruell and unheard of rebellion: in which Declaration the carriages and counsels of some great persons about the King, and their hands in that horrid conspiracy are so publikely manifested, that unlesse the Royall blood of King IAMES, and the innocent blood of the Protestants in Ireland, doe lie as a crying and stupendious guilt upon this Nation, which God hath determined at this time to revenge and retaliate, it

were

were impossible that so many of those that would be thought the honest and moderate English Protestants, should any longer be deluded or led on to joyne with German, French, Walloon, English, and Irish Papists, and thereby to, surrender up at once into their hands the Protestant Religion, the Parliament, the Liberty and Laws of England into the hands of Papists and Traitors, and so to cause this renowned Kingdom to be no more a Nation.

And because I may give some light to the Passages themselves, I have endeavoured to collect the chiefe heads of the said Declaration for the better and more speedy information of the whole Kingdom

In that Declaration of the House of Commons, folio 3. The Commons in Parliament do observe, That the grand designe of altering Religion thorowout all his Majesties Dominions had a more speciall influence upon Ireland. For the more full manifestation whereof, they have collected some particular footsteps by which Popery hath been advanced in that Kingdome since his Majesties accesse to the Crowne of England: As first, that in the second yeer of his Majesties reigne certain Propositions were set on foot in Ireland, the scope whereof was to favour Popery in that Kingdom, as namely, to suspend all proceedings against Papists for being married, or for procuring their children to be christened by popish Priests, &c. and thereby to gaine a toleration of Popish Religion in that Kingdome: which Propositions and Designe were so scandalous, that even the then Bishops of Ireland protested against it, and the House of Commons in a Remonstrance of the third yeere of His Majesties reign did truly informe the great abuse in that kinde: notwithstanding which endeavour of theirs; the Religion of the Papists from that time did more and more flourish in that Kingdome. For (as in folio 5.) in consideration of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds to be leavied in three yeers upon that Kingdom, as well upon Protestants as Papists, all the said Propositions and Graces, with many other like additions, were granted, and the Protestants (besides the illegall imposing the taxe without their consent in Parliament) compelled to purchase with their money, tolerations and immunities for the Papists. That many potent and notorious Papists were created Peers by his Majestie, whereby the Votes of the Popish party in the Lords House were much increased, and so those Papists became more powerfull and exemplary in their respective Counties, so that thereupon the penalties imposed upon the Papists, by the Statute 2. Eliz. for not coming to Church (although sundry Iudges in their circuits gave that Statute in charge, and Indictments were framed thereupon) were wholly, and all proceedings upon it, by directions from England staid: And in folio 4. they declare, That the Popish Army was kept on foot there for a long time after the beginning of this Parliament, contrary to the advice and frequent desires of both Houses of Parliament, and to the great hinderance of this rebellion, by teaching those villains the knowledge of Arms, under the notion of fighting against Scotland.

That

That besides these and other circumstances preceding the Rebellion (enough if rightly considered to open the eyes of all Malignants.) In folio 9. and 10, they declare, That the general profession of all the Rebels in that Kingdom is, That the cause of their rising was to preserve his Majesty and the Queene from being oppressed by the Puritan Parliament, and that it was by their consent, their calling the English Army Parliament Rogues & Traytors to the Queen, telling them at the beginning of the Rebellion, before any appearance of war here, That ere long they should see England as much in blood as Ireland then was, with a multitude of such like expressions from the Irish of the best qualitie and degree, as may appear by the examinations of Colonel Audley Mervin, William Steuart, Esquire, and William Steuart Gent. therewith printed, and by divers other proofs. And in the same Page afterwards they declare, That the Lord Dillon of Costelough (now a great Rebel) went out of Scotland from his Majestie into Ireland the same moneth of October wherein the Rebellion began, bringing his Majesties Letters, which he obtained by the mediation of the Queene, to be presently sworn a Privy Counsellor of Ireland, whereby he was the more inabled to be usefull to the Rebels.

That the Lord Taffe and others, do not onely sollicite here with his Majestie on the behalfe of the Rebels, but also sollicite the Rebels from hence in the name of his Majestie, as appears by the testimony of Master Iephson, a worthy Member of the House of Commons, who lately declared at Oxford, and since in the House of Commons, that he had seen two Letters sent by the Lord Dillon to the Lord Taffe, to the Lord of Muskery, the chief man in Rebellion in Munster, and one of the Irish Committee sent into England, intimating, That though it did not stand with the conveniency of his Majesties affairs to give him publike countenance, yet that his Maiestie was well pleased with what he did, or Letters to that purpose. As in the examination, folio 11.

And folio 13. That a Commission was sent over to meet with the Rebels, and to hear what they could say for themselves, by one Tho. Bourk, notwithstanding he had an hand in contriving this Rebellion, who brought the said Commission into Ireland, and confidently delivered the same at the Councell Table, to the amazement of all the Councell then present that were not acquainted with the plot.

And in Sir William Brereton's Letter, dated Iune 17. it is to this purpose informed, That there landed out of two Barkes many Irish Rebels in Werrall in Cheshire, some whereof acknowledged in the presence of divers sufficient men, that they had washed their hands in the blood of the English and Scotch in Ireland, and now hoped to wash their hands in the blood of English men in England, which Rebels being brought into Chester, were accused by severall of those poor English who fled from Ireland to Chester for refuge, to be the persons who cut their husbands throats; others, that they ripped up their childrens bowels.

And

And fol. 16. That the Counsels now predominant at Oxford, and the supreame Councell of the confederate Catholikes in Ireland (as they terme themselves) met at Kilkenny, are equally his Majesties good Subjects and aime at one and the same thing, and are concurring and aiding one another as well by Sea as Land, is apparent by the Letters of mart, of the Lord Mobun, Sir Ralph Hopton and others, by an authority derived to them under the great Seale of England; grant Commissions for the apprehending and taking for his Majesties service, all Ships and Vessels belonging to any City, Towne, or Port, as London, Exceter, &c. On the other side the Rebels of Ireland do grant Commissions or Letters of Mart for the taking of all His Majesties enemies, and the enemies of the generall Catholique cause now in Land in the Kingdome of Ireland, &c. as by the severall Commissions in fol. 44. & 46. more fully appeares.

And fol. 28. That by divers Letters, Instructions and Papers found about the E. of Antrim, who was taken the second time by Generall Major Monro in the County of Down in Ireland, as he was returning from the Queen to the Rebels of Vlster, and by the confession of his owne servant taken with him and since condemned and executed, it is evident there was and doubtlesse yet is an impious designe on foot to reconcile the English and Irish in Ireland, and that their joynt power having expeld the Scots, the Irish Forces there might be sent against the Parliament of England. And fol. 19. That it might appeare to the rebels of Ireland, that the Earle of Antrim was accounted His Majesties good Subject, and had His Majesties approbation for what he was to act there, it may appeare by a passe granted to him under the E. of Newcastles hand, which it is conceived he would not have adventured to have given to so notorious a Rebell, without expresse Warrant so to doe; As in the Passe, and other Letters, fol. 19.

Lastly, fol. 20. The House of Commons among a numerous company of prooses of this kind, too many to be all related, shall conclude with the testimony of John Dod Minister of Gods Word at Anegilliffe in the County of Cavan, in the Province of Vlster in Ireland; which for that it is of so great consequence to the discovery of the potency of the popish party at Oxford, will not be amisse, for the satisfaction of the world, to set down (verbatim) which is printed, fol. 21. and is as followeth.

The Examination of *John Dod* Clerke, taken by a select Committee of the House of Commons, July 8. 1643.

Saith, that after he had suffered many miseries in this rebellion of Ireland, *he repaired into this Kingdome, and some occasions carrying him to* Oxford, *he stayed there seven weeks, and came out of* Oxford, *June 13. 1643. That during his stay there, he saw a great number of Vish Rebels whom he very well knew to have had an hand in the most barbarous actions*

of

of that rebellion, as the dashing of small infants in pieces, the ripping up of women with child, and the like; among whom was one Thomas Brady, *who at* Turbet *in the County of* Cavan *in the Province of* Ulster *in* Ireland, *within seven miles where this said examinat lived, as 36 old men, women and children, not able to flie, were passing over a bridge, caused them all to be thrown into the water, where they were all drowned. That this* Brady *is now at* Oxford, *in great favour, and Serjeant-major to Colonell* Percy *his Regiment: That he saw there three Franciscan Friers, namely,* Brian ô Gormuti, Anthony mac Geoghegan, *and* Thomas Nuergent; *and three Jesuits, namely,* Laurence Sotton, Philip Roche, *and* Edmund ô Rely, *who were all very earnest for the cause, and daily encouraging the Souldiers to fight against the Roundheads: and for that purpose have lysted themselves in the Lord* Dillons *Troope (as was affirmed by divers;) they goe very brave, and are called Coronets. That there are daily and publique meetings at Masse, in almost every streets there; and verily believes in his conscience, that for one Sermon preached, there are foure Masses said at* Oxford. *That he saw Sir* John Dungan *there (a man accused of high treason in* Ireland, *for partaking in that rebellion, and fled into* England) *who had a Commission for a Troop of horse: The Lord* Barn-wall *of* Trimletstowne, *and his sonne, who hath a Commission for a Troop of horse, and is now gone into* Wales *to raise them; a sonne of the Lord* Nevervils *who hath gotten a command likewise. That as neere as he can possibly compute, there was then at* Oxford *about* 3000 *Irish rebels; and that most of the Kings Life-guard are Irish.*

John Doe.

By which examination, so exceeding pertinent for the manifestation of the proceedings of the Irish Rebels, and the concurrence of some great Counsellours in England, in all their designes with them, besides all the proofes and examinations of other credible persons, at large in that Declaration contained, it is not probable, as is Declared fol. 21. That this horrid and unparalled Rebellion should be the undertaking of the Rebels alone, being let on foot when a Parliament was sitting in England, that could not dissolve without its owne consent, when all Nations professing the professing the Romish Religion, were at peace with England, and so ingaged at home, that the Rebels in reason could not expect any considerable assistance from them, nor could thinke themselves able to encounter England and Scotland, either without being incouraged, incited, nay commanded from England with an assurance both of connivence and assistance too, were to deny them to be reasonable creatures

Besides

Besides all which, that the Rebels who have washed their hands in the blood of the English Protestants in Ireland, should dare to come openly unto His Majesties Court, when as formerly he made a protestation that no papist should come within the verge of it, and whereas upon the first comming over of the Rebels many grand Malignants were heard to say, That if the King should take aid of the Irish Rebels, no honest man would stay any longer with him, or be on his side, which now plainely appearing contrary to his former Protestations, and many of them advanced to places of honour, their names particularly mentioned, and their persons publiquely knowne: there need no other proofe concerning it, so that they that will not now be satisfied, I cannot see but that they are given over to a perpetuall stupidity and blindnesse; in the interim, let those whose eyes God hath opened to see these things, contribute their utmost assistance to keepe their houses from burning, their wives from ravishing, their children from being cruelly murthered, and their owne lives and liberties from being taken away, by the popish miscreants, who have been already so fleshed in the blood of Protestants, that there is no hope of mercy to be expected from them.

By Letters from Excester, dated July 20. it is certified that the E. of Warwicke hath lately beaten off the Cavaliers from their Workes, Blockhouses, and Fortifications which they made upon the River, to hinder provision from comming unto it, that he hath killed some, and taken many of them prisoners (and some report 12. peeces of Ordnance. He hath also landed fifteene hundred men, which it is hoped will doe good service against the Cavaliers in those parts.

Tuesday, July 25. Letters were this day read in the House of Commons concerning a great overthrow lately given to the Popish Rebels in the Province of Ulster in Ireland, by which that Province is wholly freed from those barbarous Rebels, they have slaine and taken above 1000. and comming into many Towns where the Rebels wives inhabited, they found many peeces of children, upon which it appeares, that for want of victuels they were constrained to feed on them. The Rebels are generally in great distresse, so that if our forces there had but a convenient supply of money, they doubt not but speedily to doe much good service against those inhumane Rebels.

By Letters from Lincolnshire it is enformed, that the L. Willoughby of Parham, hath with a party of horse and Dragoones, taken in the Town of Gainsborough in that County by a desperate assault, and taken prisoner the Earl of Kingston (a man of an exceeding vast estate) being by his Majesty made Lord Generall of the Forces raised in Nottinghamshire, Darbyshire, and Lincolnshire, and about 30 Knights, and 2 Commanders, and many Gentlemen of quality in that County; he also released 300 prisoners, part of them being the Army of the Lord Fairefax, and some of them of Lincolne forces. He took there good store of Armes and Ammunition, and all the E. of Kingstons treasure, which it is conceived will amount to a very considerable sum.

The intelligence from Kent this day was, that the Kentish Malignants had

not

not onely left Sevenoakes, but were also by Colonell Brownes Forces beaten from Tunbridge, and some of their principall Leaders, whereof Captaine Sands is one, together with 100 more of them, are taken prisoners; and rescued Sir Thomas Walsingham, formerly taken by them; and the rest running into some woods adjoyning, our Forces have pursued them, so that it is conceived that the next report will be of the quelling of these factions and seditious insurrections. All this was effected with the losse of seven, one whereof being an Ensigne of Cap. Roes, and a man of undaunted courage, is much lamented. The prime authors of this tumult will be made exemplary thereby, to deter others from molesting the peace of that or any other County.

Sir William Waller, and Sir Edw. Hungerford came this day into Town, with 300 gallant horse, he is made Lieutenant Generall of the Horse, under the command of his Excellency the Earl of Essex. His presence will much set forward the subscriptions, for the raising of more Forces under his command, in London, and the parts adjacent.

The King being so far seduced by evill Counsellors, as not onely in a former Proclamation (notwithstanding all his Protestations to the contrary) to deny the freedome of this Parliament, but also of all his most loyall Subjects in the City of London, for in a Proclamation lately set forth at Oxford, dated July 17. He forbids all Traffique with any of the inhabitants of the City of London, from bringing any Merchandise or provision thither, which thing if it should take effect, would prove a destruction to all His Majesties subjects in these parts, notwithstanding the prevalency of his evill Councell, as is so much the more apparent in that he is more ready to set forth Proclamations of this nature against his most loyall Subjects, then he was against the inhumane and bloodthirsty Rebels in Ireland.

On Wednesday, July 26 the Intelligence was, that there were 2000 horse of the Kings army came to Gilford in Surrey, where they have plundered and pillaged many of the inhabitants of that Towne: upon which another Regiment of foot were sent downe from London, and Collonell Harvey then at Farnham-Castle with several Troops of the Parliaments intended to fall upon them the next day.

On Thursday July 27 Sir William Waller went to Merchant-taylors Hall, where was great store of people; and going very curteously unto the upper end of the Hall, with Mr. Burton the Minister accompanying him, he spake these words, *Gentlemen, you that are willing to serve under me, and are resolved to spend your lives in this Cause, I will beare you company, and will spend my blood in the defence of Gods cause, & true Religion wish you.* Whereupon many subscribed very freely for Money, Horse, and Armes, and it is thought that suddenly will be raised a very numerous Army.

This is licensed, and entered in Stationers-Hall-booke, according to Order.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Wright*, and *Thomas Bates*, and are to be sold at their shops in the old Baily. 1643.

THE HARMONY OF OVR OATHES.

SHEWING,

An agreement betwixt the Oathes of Supremacie, Allegeance, the Freemans Oath, Protestation and Covenant.

All publisht at large for the satisfaction of those, who having not seen, or not remembring the particulars therein contained, beleeve and entertaine needlesse Scruples concerning the same.

Imprimatur. *John White.*

This is licensed and entred according to order.

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28 July *LONDON*, Printed by *T. Pain*, and *M. Simonds* for *Thomas Underhill.* 1643.

THE HARMONY OF OUR OATHES

SHEWING,

An agreement betwixt the Ordres of Apprentice, Allegeance, the Freemans Oath, Protestation and Covenant.

All published at large for the satisfaction of those, who having not seen, or not remembring the particulars therein contained, believe and entertaine needlesse Scruples concerning the same.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Imprimatur. John White.

This is licensed and entred according to order.

LONDON,
Printed by T. Pain, and M. Simmons
for Thomas Underhill. 1645.

The Oathes of Supremacie, Allegeance, and of every Free-man of the Citie of London, together with the Protestation and Covenant; Published all together for their satisfaction who for want of the knowledge of them, and yet beleeving false reports of them, do raise and entertain needlesse Scruples about the Covenant.

THE language of the Almighty speaketh things, not empty sounds: the whole creation were six mighty words, in the derivation of which Dialect, the heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handy worke, one day speaketh to another, and one night instructeth another: There is no speech nor language where their voice is not heard, their sound is gone out into all lands, and their words into the ends of the world. Not he therfore that thinkes to be heard through much babbling, nor he that saith, Lord, Lord, speakes the language of Heaven; but he that doth the will of the Father which is in heaven. Though all our words were oathes, we cannot sweare our selves to heaven, nor blaspheme our selves into the true Religion, no not into common morall honesty: Oathes may distinguish honest men from knaves, they cannot make them so. An honest man sweares a just oath, because without an oath he meanes to do the thing he sweares. A knave is bound with nothing but impossibilities. Oathes that are just ingage no more then duty, and such as are not so, he sinneth twice that keeps them; who sweares a rebellion against God, hath sinned aloud, but he that keeps that oath, persists in sin. I swore, (as others did) allegeance to my Soveraigne, which (if it be a lawfull oath) it neither meanes unlawfull allegeance, nor unlawfull soveraignty: I am sure, I meant it not, that took the oath, nor was it my part to suspect that royall oath, that fastned at once three Crowns upon his Temples, to which my oath related, nor for to rivall the most high in judging of his thoughts, till outward words reveale them. And howsoever, let every man stand or fall to his owne Master. I will not question the abuse of soveraignty, but if the King wanton with his Vicaridge, and usurps a power over me, to enlarge a rebellion against God, I am forbid to feare the power that one-

ly kills the body. He is my King and not my God; I am his subject, not his creature. I am bound to the King by oath; to God I am bound by Oath, by Sacraments, by all my being and well-being: we must obey God before man. He that obeyes an inferiour Magistrate who dictates the commands of heaven, before the powerfull Edicts of Kings who speake the contrary, obeyes the higher power. It is a grief of heart to see the madnesse of some people, and some supposed religious Divines, that take the report of the Oathes (which they are sworn to) from the mouthes of others, without examining the oathes themselves, or the grounds published whereupon those oathes were made, whereby whil'st they endevour to avoid perjury, they have made haste to be forsworn, and bring upon themselves and others swift damnation. And had the Oathes of Allegeance and Supremacie obliged us to the personall commands and actions of the Prince (which none in reason can affirm) yet ought the sense and resolution be reflected on as well as words. He that in confidence of none but Popish impositions, and he that in like confidence of none but Protestant precepts, take such oath, were each forsworn if they proved contrary to their resolutions; only the Atheist here escapeth perjury, that whether they held to th'one or th'other, is resolved to obey both or neither: yet that the Grammer of the oath relates not to the unconstant will and pleasure of the Prince, and that the scope of our Protestation and Covenant, thwart not the oathes of Allegeance and Supremacy, but concurre with them, we have in Christian compassion of each mans soule and conscience, caused all foure to be printed together, that each man may be judge of his own conscience, and not engage himself through ignorance into the periuries of many, who unawares through mistaken tendernesse of the Kings safety, are involved with Papists against their oathes, and against that safety of their Prince which they are sworn to.

Read and beleeve.

The Oath of Supremacie.

I *A.B.* do utterly testifie and declare in my conscience, That the Kings Highnesse is the onely supreme Governour of this Realme, and of all other his Highnes Dominios & Countries, as wel in all spiritual & Ecclesiastical things (or causes) as tẽporall: And that no forraign Prince, Person, State, Prelate, Potentate, hath or ought to have any iurisdiction, power, superiority, preheminence or authority Ecclesiasticall or Spirituall within this realme. And therfore I do utterly renounce and forsake all forraigne iurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegeance to the Kings highnesse, his heirs, and lawfull successors, and (to my power) shall assist and defend all iurisdiction, priviledge, preheminence & authoritie granted or belonging to the Kings Highnesse his heires and successors, and united and annexed to the Imperiall Crown of this Realme. So help me God, &c.

Observe 1. That the reason of framing this oath was, as appears by the words of the

the Oath it ſelf, &c of the precedent words of the Statute, *To the intent all uſurped and forraigne power and authority, ſpiritual and temporall may for ever be extinguiſhed, and never to be uſed or obeyed within this Realme, or any other her Majeſties Dominions or Countries: And that no forraigne Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State, or Potentate, ſpirituall or temporall, ſhall at any time after the laſt day of this Seſſion of Parliament, uſe, enjoy, or exerciſe any manner of power, juriſdiction, ſuperiority, authority, prehemi-nence, or priviledge ſpirituall or temporall, within this Realme, or within any other her Majeſties Dominions and Countries, that now be, or hereafter ſhall be; but from hence-forth the ſame ſhall be clearly aboliſhed out of this Realme, and other her Highneſſe Do-minions for ever.*

By which it appeares, that thoſe are in danger of perjury, who have taken this Oath and yet ſide with that party which apparantly labour to bring in for-raigne power in cauſes Eccleſiſticall, and not thoſe who uſe all meanes to ſup-preſſe it and all things elſe not really tending to the eſtabliſhing of the Kings perſon and government, in honour, peace and ſafety.

The King is acknowledged ſupreme Governour, and no doubt but he is ſo, ſo long as that government contradicts not the ſupreme Law, which is the ſafety of the Kingdome; And ſo long as a King and his definition, which is his eſſence are terms convertible. But if either the makers or takers of this oath, had been asked when they made or tooke it, whether they meant the King was ſo ſupreme Governour, that his will as well as his office ſhould be in all things here-after obeyed, though tending to the ſubverſion of his Parliament or Kingdom, & contrary to the mind of both: Doubtles their anſwer would have been, Such a thing is not to be conceived ever to happen: but if it ſhould, wee intend no ſuch thing by it, ſince *ad ea quæ frequentius accidunt jura adaptantur*: For the King in *Curia* is to be governour of his people, and not in *Camera*, much leſſe in *Campo*.

The Oath of Allegeance.

I *A.B* do truly and ſincerely acknowledge, profeſſe, teſtifie and declare in my conſcience before God and the world that our Soveraigne Lord, K^r *Charles* is lawfull and rightfull King of this Realm, and of all other his Maieſties Do-minions and Countries: And that the Pope neither of himſelfe, nor by a-ny authority of the Church or See of Rome, or by any other meanes (with any other) hath any power or authority to depoſe the King, or to diſpoſe any of his Maieſties Kingdomes or Dominions, or to authorize any forraigne Prince to invade or annoy him, or his Countries, or to diſcharge any of his Subiects of their allegeance and obedience to his Maieſty, or to give licence or leave to any of them to bear Armes, raiſe tumult, or to offer any violence or hurt to his Maie-ſties Royall perſon, State, Government, or to any of his Maieſties ſubiects with-in his Maieſties Dominions. Alſo I do ſwear from my heart, that notwithſtand-

ly kills the body. He is my King and not my God; I am his subject, not his creature. I am bound to the King by oath; to God I am bound by Oath, by Sacraments, by all my being and well-being: we must obey God before man. He that obeyes an inferiour Magistrate who dictates the commands of heaven, before the powerfull Edicts of Kings who speake the contrary, obeyes the higher power. It is a grief of heart to see the madnesse of some people, and some supposed religious Divines, that take the report of the Oathes (which they are sworn to) from the mouthes of others, without examining the oathes themselves, or the grounds published whereupon those oathes were made, whereby, whil'st they endevour to avoid perjury, they have made haste to be forsworne, and bring upon themselves and others swift damnation. And had the Oathes of Allegeance and Supremacie obliged us to the personall commands and actions of the Prince (which none in reason can affirm) yet ought the sense and resolution be reflected on as well as words. He that in confidence of none but Popish impositions, and he that in like confidence of none but Protestant precepts, takes such oath, were each forsworn if they proved contrary to their resolutions; only the Atheist here escapeth perjury, that whether they held to th'one or th'other, is resolved to obey both or neither: yet that the Grammer of the oath relates not to the unconstant will and pleasure of the Prince, and that the scope of our Protestation and Covenant, thwart not the oathes of Allegeance and Supremacy, but concurre with them, we have in Christian compassion of each mans soule and conscience, caused all foure to be printed together, that each man may be judge of his own conscience, and not engage himself through ignorance into the perjuries of many, who unawares through mistaken tendernesse of the Kings safety, are involved with Papists against their oathes, and against that safety of their Prince which they are sworn to.

Read and beleeve.

The Oath of Supremacie.

I *A.B.* do utterly testifie and declare in my conscience, That the Kings Highnesse is the onely supreme Governour of this Realme, and of all other his Highnes Dominios & Countries, as wel in all spiritual & Ecclesiastical things (or causes) as tẽporall: And that no forraign Prince, Person, State, Prelate, Potentate, hath or ought to have any iurisdiction, power, superiority, preheminence or authority Ecclesiasticall or Spirituall within this realme. And therfore I do utterly renounce and forsake all forraigne iurisdictions, powers, superiorities, and authorities, and do promise that from henceforth I shall bear faith and true allegeance to the Kings highnesse, his heirs, and lawfull successors, and (to my power) shall assist and defend all iurisdiction, priviledge, preheminence & authoritie granted or belonging to the Kings Highnesse his heires and successors, and united and annexed to the Imperiall Crown of this Realme. So help me God, &c.

Observe 1. That the reason of framing this oath was, as appears by the words of the

the Oath it ſelf, & of the precedent words of the Statute, *To the intent all uſurped and forraigne power and authority, ſpirituall and temporall may for ever be extinguiſhed, and never to be uſed or obeyed within this Realme, or any other her Majeſties Dominions or Countries: And that no forraigne Prince, Perſon, Prelate, State, or Potentate, ſpirituall or temporall, ſhall at any time after the laſt day of this Seſſion of Parliament, uſe, enjoy, or exerciſe any manner of power, juriſdiction, ſuperiority, authority, preheminence, or priviledge ſpirituall or temporall, within this Realme, or within any other her Majeſties Dominions and Countries, that now be, or hereafter ſhall be; but from henceforth the ſame ſhall be clearly aboliſhed out of this Realme, and other her Highneſſe Dominions for ever.*

By which it appeares, that thoſe are in danger of perjury, who have taken this Oath and yet ſide with that party which apparantly labour to bring in forraigne power in cauſes Eccleſiſticall, and not thoſe who uſe all meanes to ſuppreſſe it and all things elſe not really tending to the eſtabliſhing of the Kings perſon and government, in honour, peace and ſafety.

The King is acknowledged ſupreme Governour, and no doubt but he is ſo, ſo long as that government contradicts not the ſupreme Law, which is the ſafety of the Kingdome; And ſo long as a King and his definition, which is his eſſence are terms convertible. But if either the makers or takers of this oath, had been asked when they made or tooke it, whether they meant the King was ſo ſupreme Governour, that his will as well as his office ſhould be in all things hereafter obeyed, though tending to the ſubverſion of his Parliament or Kingdom, & contrary to the mind of both: Doubtles their anſwer would have been, Such a thing is not to be conceived ever to happen: but if it ſhould, wee intend no ſuch thing by it, ſince *ad ea quæ frequentius accidunt jura adaptantur*: For the King in *Curia* is to be governour of his people, and not in *Camera*, much leſſe in *Campo*.

The Oath of Allegeance.

I *A.B* do truly and ſincerely acknowledge, profeſſe, teſtifie and declare in my conſcience before God and the world, that our Soveraigne Lord, K^t *Charles* is lawfull and rightfull King of this Realm, and of all other his Maieſties Dominions and Countries: And that the Pope neither of himſelfe, nor by any authority of the Church or See of Rome, or by any other meanes (with any other) hath any power or authority to depoſe the King, or to diſpoſe any of his Maieſties Kingdomes or Dominions, or to authorize any forraigne Prince to invade or annoy him, or his Countries, or to diſcharge any of his Subiects of their allegeance and obedience to his Maieſty, or to give licence or leave to any of them to bear Armes, raiſe tumult, or to offer any violence or hurt to his Maieſties Royall perſon, State, Government, or to any of his Maieſties ſubiects within his Maieſties Dominions. Alſo I do ſwear from my heart, that notwithſtanding

ing any Declaration or Sentence of excommunication, or Deprivation, made or granted, or to be made or granted by the Pope or his ſucceſſors, or by any authority derived or pretended to be derived from him, or his See, againſt the ſaid King his Heirs or Succeſſors, or any abſolution of the ſaid ſubiects from their obedience: I will bear faith and true allegeance to his Maieſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, and him and them will defend to the uttermoſt of my power, againſt all conſpiracies and attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt his or thier perſons, their Crowne or Dignity, by reaſon or colour of any ſuch Sentence or Declaration, or otherwiſe: and will do my beſt endevour to diſcloſe and make known unto his Maieſty, his Heirs and Succeſſors, all treaſons and traiterous conſpiracies, which I ſhall know or heare of to be againſt him or any of them. And I doe further ſwear, That I do from my heart abhorre, deteſt and abiure, as impious and hereticall, this damnable doctrine and poſition, That Princes which be excommunicated, or deprived by the Pope, may be depoſed, or murdered of their ſubiects, or any other whatſoever. And I doe beleeve, and in conſcience am reſolved, That neither the Pope, nor any other perſon whatſoever, hath power, to abſolve me of this oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full authoritie to be lawfully miniſtred unto me, and do renounce all pardons and diſpenſations to the contrary. And theſe things I doe plainly and ſincerely acknowledge and ſwear, according to theſe expreſſe words, by me ſpoken, and according to the plain and common ſenſe and underſtanding of the ſame words, without any equivocation or mentall evaſion or ſecret reſervation whatſoever. And I do make this recognition and acknowledgement, heartily, willingly and truly, upon the true faith of a Chriſtian. So help me God.

The Proteſtation. Die Mercurii, 5 Maii 1641.

I A. B. *Doe in the preſence of Almighty God, promiſe, vow, and proteſt, to maintain and defend, as farre as lawfully I may, with my life, power and eſtate, the true reformed Proteſtant Religion, expreſſed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, againſt all Popery and Popiſh Innovations within this Realme, contrary to the ſame Doctrine, and according to the duty of my Allegeance, his Majeſties Royall Perſon, Honour and Eſtate; As alſo the Power and Priviledges of Parliament; The lawfull Rights and Liberties of the Subiect, and every perſon that maketh this Proteſtation, in whatſoever he ſhall doe in the lawfull purſuance of the ſame. And to my power, and as farre as lawfully I may, I will oppeſe, and by all good wayes and meanes endeavour to bring to condigne puniſhment, all ſuch as ſhall either by force, practice, counſels, plots, conſpiracies, or otherwiſe, doe any thing to the contrary of any thing in this preſent Proteſtation contained. And further, that I ſhall in all juſt and honourable wayes indevour to preſerve the union and peace between the three Kindomes of England, Scotland and Ireland; And neither for hope, fear, or other reſpect, ſhall relinquiſh this Promiſe, Vow and Proteſtation.*

Whereas

WHereas some doubts have been raised by severall persons out of this House, concerning the meaning of these words contained in the Protestation lately made by the members of this House, (viz.) *The true Reformed Protestant Religion, expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, against all Popery and Popish Innovations within this Realme, contrary to the same Doctrine*; This House doth declare, That by those words, was and is meant, onely the publick Doctrine professed in the said Church, so farre as it is opposite to Popery and Popish Innovations; And that the said words are not to be extended to the maintaining of any form of Worship Discipline or Government, nor of any Rites or Ceremonies of the said Church of England.

The Oath of every Free-man of the City of London.

YE shall sweare that ye shall be * good and true to our Soveraigne Lord K. *Charles*, and to the Heirs of our said Soveraigne Lord the King. Obeysant and obedient ye shall be to the Maior and Ministers of this City. The Franchises and Customes thereof ye shall maintain, and this City keep harmlesse in that that in you is. Ye shall be contributary to all manner of charges within this Citie, as Summons, Watches, Contributions, Taxes, Tallages, Lot and Scot, and to all other charges bearing your part as a Free man ought to do. Ye shall colour no Forraigne goods, under or in your name, whereby the King or this Citie might or may lose their customes or advantages. Ye shall know no Forraigner to buy or sell any Merchandize with any other Forraigner within this Citie or Franchise thereof, but ye shall warn the Chamberlain thereof, or some Minister of the Chamber. Ye shall implead or sue no Free-man out of this Citie, whiles ye may have right and law within the same Citie. Ye shall take none Apprentice, but if he be free-born (that is to say) no bondmans son, nor the child of any Alien, and for no lesse terme then for 7 years, without fraud or decett: and within the first year ye shall cause him to be enrolled, or else pay such fine as shall be reasonably imposed upon you for omitting the same. And after his terme end, within convenient time (being required) ye shall make him free of this Citie, if he have well and truly served you. Ye shall also keep the Kings * peace in your own person. Ye shall know no Gatherings, Conventicles, nor Conspiracies made against the Kings Peace, but ye shall warn the Maior thereof, or let it to your power.

All these Points and Articles yee shall well and truly keep according to the Lawes and Customes of this Citie, to your power. So help you God.

* Who a better & truer Subject, then he that would unite King and Parliament, have judgement executed upon Delinquents, and righteousnesse about his Throne.

* 1. The kings peace is the Kingdoms peace, & if this bee broken, that is not kept.

2. That is not the Kings peace which procures the Kingdomes desolation.

The

The Vow & Covenant appointed by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, to be taken by every man in the City of London, Westminster, the Suburbs and Liberties thereof; and throughout the whole Kingdom. June 1643.

I *A. B.* in humility and reverence of the Divine Majesty, declare my heartie sorrow for my own sins, and the sins of this nation, which have deserved the calamities and judgements that now lye upon it. And my true intention is, by Gods grace, to endeavour the amendment of my own wayes. And that I do abhor and detest the said wicked and treacherous designe lately discovered; and that I never gave, nor will give my assent to the execution thereof; but will, according to my power and vocation, oppose and resist the same, and all other of the like nature. And in case any other like designe shall hereafter come to my knowledge, I will make such timely discovery, as I shall conceive may best conduce to the preventing thereof. And whereas I do in my conscience beleeve, that the Forces raised by the two Houses of Parliament, are raised & continued for their just defence, and for the defence of the true Protestant Religion, and liberties of the subject, against the forces raised by the King; I do here in the presence of Almighty God, declare, vow and covenant, that I will, according to my power & vocation, assist the forces raised and continued by both Houses of Parliament, against the forces raised by the King without their consent. And will likewise assist all other persons that shall take this oath, in what they shall doe in pursuance thereof: and will not directly or indirectly adhere unto, nor shall willingly assist the forces raised by the King, without the consent of both Houses of Parliament. And this vow and covenannt I make in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, with a true intention to performe the same, as I shall answer at the great day, when the secrets of all hearts shall be disclosed.

Object. The King's person is not named in this Covenant to be defended by us.

Answ. 1. He was named in the Protestation, and therefore not here again to be named. 2. The scope of this Covenant would not fit such an expression; though his person be by no means here excluded, but rather included by these words, Against the forces raised by the King, *not against the King himselfe. And however in the judgement of charity, silence doth give consent where nothing is expressed against his person. 3. Nothing at all is here directly covenanted, which is directly and expresly in the Protestation. 4. Who is greatest enemy to the King's person? He that would only lay hands upon him, as the Angell upon Lot, to invite him from Sodom, or he that voluntarily brings him into certain danger, and might prevent it?*

Ob. He that opposeth the forces raised by the King, doth not he oppose the King himselfe?

Answ. If the good of the King, the Office of a King, and the will of a King be all promiscuously taken, then the consequence will hold; but yet it only followes by a fallacy of the accident, or by placing subjectum quod, *for* subjectum quo. *The Royalist will say, 't is easie to imagine a man fighting for a Papist, and entertaining an army of Papists, and yet not any of this in defence of Popery (which indeed is more easie to conceive, then that Papists should not fight for absolute Popery, or an unlimited toleration) And yet he will not understand how a man may fight for the King, and against the forces raised by the King. The Pope was once called honest, and Iulian in the mean time stiled without contradiction, by a courser name.* Ephestion *that loved the King, was a better friend then* Craterus *that loved but* Alexander, *and yet all made but two men,* Pope Iulian *and K.* Alexander.

FINIS.

AERIO-MASTIX, 6.

OR,

A VINDICATION

OF

The Apoſtolicall and generally received Government of the Church of Chriſt By Biſhops, againſt the ſchiſmaticall *Aerians* of our time.

Wherein is evidently demonſtrated that Biſhops are JURE DIVINO.

1 *As they are Superintendents of the inferiour Clergy.*
2 *As without whom there can be no lawfull ordination.*
3 *As through whom lawfull Succeſſion is deduced*

By { Scriptures. Fathers. Councells.

With Anſwers to the principall Objections againſt Epiſcopacy.

Digeſted into an exact Method.

By IOHN THEYER *Gent.*

Thus ſaith the Lord God, woe unto the Prophets that follow their owne ſpirit, and have ſeene nothing.
They have ſeene vanity & lying divination, ſaying, The Lord ſaith; and the Lord hath not ſent them: and they have made others to hope that they would confirme the Word, Ezek. 13.3. and 6.

July 28
Oxford, *Printed for* WILLIAM WEBB. 1643

BRITISH MUSEUM

To the KINGS moſt excellent MAJESTIE, and our moſt rightfull and dread Soveraigne Lord

CHARLES,

By the grace of God of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland* KING, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Moſt gracious Soveraigne,

IT is not any worth or deſert in my ſelf that emboldens mee to preſent this ſmall Treatiſe to Your Sacred MAJESTIE, or that I ſhould preſume to fly to your Majeſty for protection

thereof It is the weightnesse of the subject, which is none other then a Catholike, and Apostolike truth, now dangerously shaken, and in great hazard of extirpation, *Episcopacy*, founded by the blessed Apostles, or rather the Holy Ghost by their Ministery; yet furiously assaulted by whole multitudes, the greater part of whom being no better then *de fæce plebis* are as violent in pursuing it, as they are ignorant of the authority of it. For prevention of which diabolicall designe, the Truth calls for your Royall defence in these divided times, and unlesse your Majesty continue it in its strength and vigor, it is in danger to be blasted both in *Branch* and *Roote*. For *Sions* sake therefore protect this truth that now lyeth bleeding at the feet of errour, and let the world know that your Majesty is rightly styled *Defender of the faith*. Let not the audacious impudence of multitudes disheaten your Majestie in a cause so just, so cleare, so infallibly Apostolike and divine.

vine. *Cyprian* could ſay †, *Si nequiſſimorum timeatur audacia, & quod mali jure atque æquitate non poſſunt, temeritate atque deſperatione perficiant, actum eſt de Epiſcopatûs vigore, & de Eccleſiæ gubernandæ ſublimi ac divinâ poteſtate, nec Chriſtiani ultrà aut durare aut eſſe poſſumus, ſi ad hoc ventum eſt, ut perditorum minas atque inſidias pertimeſcamus.* Oh then let it never be ſaid, that your Majeſtie hath yeilded to ſubvert the Apoſtolicall government of the Church of *England*, through the inſolent importunity, or rather threats of that monſtrous beaſt [*Multitude.*]

† *Lib. 1. Ep. 3.*

I know workes of this nature, are more proper for the Clergy, yet I have read that ſome truths have beene anciently vindicated by Lay-men, as at *Laranda* by *Eulpius*, at *Iconium* by *Paulinus*, and at *Cynada* by *Theodorus*, and many others. I therefore out of a conſcionable zeale to the truth, and in an humble preſumption of your Majeſties conſtancy and undanted reſolution, ever to continue to be

† *Euſeb. hiſt. Lib. 6. cap. 25.*

(as was alſo your bleſſed father of never dying memory) a nurſing father to the Church, doe adventure to tender theſe my ſlender endeavours to your Majeſties view: In all humility imploring your Majeſtie to call to remembrance that which holy *Eleutherius* the twelfth *Biſhop* of *Rome* is ſaid to have written to *Lucius* our firſt Chriſtian King, *Vicarius Dei eſtis in regno.* A true acknowledgement of a good Biſhop: who alſo further adverti ſeth, *Gentes regni Britanniæ & populi veſtri ſunt, & quos diviſos debetis in unum ad concordiam & pacem, & ad fidem, & ad legem Chriſti, & ad ſanctam Eccleſiam congregare, revocare, fovere, manutenere, protegere, regere, et ab iniurioſis et malitioſis, et ab inimicis defendere.* Which ſage advice, that your Sacred Majeſtie may maturely reduce into act, the great God of peace ſhine with his accuſtomed beames upon your Majeſtie through the thickeneſſe of theſe foggy miſts, that when (by his gracious aſſiſtance to your Majeſtie) they

they ſhall be diſperſt, Your faithfull Subjects may againe rejoyce in the peace of our *Hieruſalem*, and in the glorious ſunſhine of your *Majeſties* moſt gratious *Protection*, and happy *Raigne* over us; which dayly is, and ſhall ever be the moſt earneſt prayer of

Your Majeſties moſt humble

and loyall Subject

IOHN THEYER.

THE PREFACE.

WHen with admiration I behold the common and unchristianlike contempt of Episcopall government, and how multitudes of the baser sort even in the streets assume unto themselves a vote, (which they most violently and rebellionsly prosecute with loud out-cries and barbarous exclamations,) for the utter ruine of that sacred and Apostolicall Institution; I wonder the lesse at that outrageous multitude, which once could not be appeased, but by yeelding to their hellish desire vented by the hideous cry of σταυρωθήτω [a]. *But I see what this impetuous monster multitude can do, it could prevaile so farre as to crucify the Lord of life: therefore the lesse marveile it dares assoult his ordinances. And shall we despaire because the times are perillous, because* [b] men are lovers of themselves, covetous, boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankefull, unholy, without naturall affection, truce-breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce, despisers of those that are good, TRAYTOURS, heady, high minded, lovers of pleasures more then lovers of God, Having a forme of Godlinesse, but denying the power thereof [c]? *Nay, let us not be dismayed for that*

[a] Matt. 27. 23.

[b] 2. Tim. 3. 2. 3. 4. 5.

[c] 1. Iohn. 4. 1.

many

many falſe Prophets are gone out into the world; teaching things that are not convenient for filthy *lucres* ſake, *but rather comfort your ſelves in this, that ſeeing theſe dayes, we know the Scripture is fulfilled, and may therefore labour the more to eſcape the ſnares of theſe perillous and pernitious times, and ſo be able to ſtand faſt; that though* iniquity and the love of many waxeth cold, *yet we (calling to mind what our Saviour* [d] *hath foretold)* may continue to the end and ſo be ſaved. *That iniquity hath a long time abounded, is too too evident: And now (as if all former impieties had beene too little) the devill is come abroad ſeconded with the uſurped authority of giddy headed and clamorous multitudes, who under pretence of* Reformation, *do moſt impiouſly endeavour to overthrow the Apoſtolicall diſcipline and government ever retained in the Catholique Church, And inſtead thereof to introduce hereſies, ſchiſmes, Anarchy, and libertiniſme: of which perfidious dealing we may take up this complaint,* O hæreticæ inſtitutionis inefficax, & vana traditio, hortari ad eccleſiæ reformationem, & ſubtrahere eccleſiæ unitatem.

d Mat. 24. 12. & 15.

We are forewarned that the devill will then rage moſt furiouſly when he ſhall know his time to be ſhort [e]: *when did he rage more furiouſly then now? it ſeemes he will have all men know, he intends to improve his ſhort time, for he now is framing his maſter peece, ayming to do more at* one blow, *then he was able to accompliſh in many hundred yeares before. In the former ages of the Church, he could but introduce, now*

e Revel. 12. 12. It was of late prated in the pulpit at a Church in *London* to this effect, *one Blow more, and down go the Biſhops.*

and then an hereſy, which the pious and Zealous Biſhops by their providence, vigilance, and power, (did as they could) withſtand and ſuppreſſe; But of late yeares, yea within the age of a man he hath ſtirred up more obſtinate Sectaries, and brocbed more groſſe hereſies, then have diſquieted the peace of the Church of Chriſt for many ages heretofore, all which he hath atchieved, either by ſuch agents, by whom Epiſcopall authority is contemned, or in ſuch places, where that holy inſtitution is totally aboliſhed. The greateſt part of which hereſies, are taking deep root among us, and now the Church of England lyeth groaning under the burden of them, calling and crying to the Governours * of the Church, for ſuccour and releife. But ſuch are the cunning wiles of the old ſerpent; Now that there is moſt need of the ſevere diſcipline of Biſhops, to root out theſe tares, their hands are bound, and they reſtrained from executing their authority, whil'ſt the unbridled and licentious Rout, under Countenance and protection, cry out Away with them, No Biſhops, No Biſhops, they are Popiſh and Antichriſtian: much like unto the Edomites, who cryed againſt Hieruſalem [a], Downe with it, Downe with it, even to the ground. A generation of people like unto thoſe of whom Irenaus complaines, who tooke upon them to be wiſer then the Elders of the Church, nay then the very Apoſtles themſelves [b]. Dicent ſe non ſolùm Presbyteris, ſed etiam Apoſtolis exiſtentes ſapientiores, ſinceram inveniſſe veritatem. But let ſuch conſider what Lucifer Calaritanus ſpake to that great protector

* Volens [Chriſtus] demonſtrare, futuros Antiſtites atque paſtores Eccleſiarum, ſic perſequi debere haereticos, fecit flagellum ex funiculu, & ingreſſus in Templum omnes vendentes & ementes ex ſacro loco ejecit, ac proſtravit. Chryſ. Serm. de pſeudo prophetis ante med.

[a] Pſal 137. 7.

[b] Iren. lib. 3. cap. 2.

tector † *of the* Arrians [c], Si ſapiens es, cur ad domum Dei miſiſti ſæpe militem armatum? ſi prudens es, & Dei te nôſti ſervum, cur ejus populum armis es perſecutus atque perſequeris? cur poſtremò fidem Apoſtolicam atque Evangelicam, hæreticam dicis, & hæreticam, catholicam pronuncias? Tu te dicis ſapientem, ſed contrà nos cernimus nullum poſſe qui hæc faciat, eſſe ſapientem. Quis enim ſacrilegus poterit dici prudens, niſi ab imprudentioribus ſe?

† *Conſtantium.*

[c] *Lucif. Calar. lib. 2. pro S. Athanaſ. pag.* 100.

Now if ſacriledge, prophanation of the houſes of God, and contempt of divine and Apoſtolicall truths be wiſdome, then theſe men are wiſe, but all good and godly wiſe Chriſtians do underſtand that ſuch wiſedome proceedeth from that grand enemy, who ſubtilly projecteth, that it were in vaine for him to ſow ſo many tares, *ſchiſmes and hereſies, unleſſe he ſaw probability of rooting out that power and authority, by which they ſhould be ſuppreſſed. He is not ignorant that* Epiſcopacy *was erected by the bleſſed Apoſtles, as the cheifeſt meanes to prevent ſchiſme* *, *and preſerve order and unity, which being ſubverted, the Church muſt of neceſſity be expoſed to error and confuſion.*

[e] Mat. 13. 25.

* *Vt ſchiſmatũ ſemina tollerentur. Hierom. in Tit. 1.*

God be thanked, many more able pennes, have already undertaken this unhappy controverſy: without which (as it was ſaid at the preſence of the Meſſiah *riding into* Hieruſalem [a], the ſtones in the ſtreet would have immediatly cryed out, *if thoſe who then glorified God*, had held their peace, *ſo*) *it might now have been ſaid, that all Chriſtendom would*

[a] Luc 19. 40.

have cryed out against our Nation, if this divine truth should be suppressed fine strepitu.

In consideration whereof, I thought it more safe to adde a mite towards the support of this Apostolicall institution, then in silence to bury a single talent. And maugre all malignant *ill-wishers to Christian peace and Order, I shall ever approve my selfe a faithfull lover of Godly unity and concord, and an obedient sonne of the Catholique Church.*

ERRATA.

Pag. 72. lin. 1. dele *Et in expos. 1. Tim. 3.*
Pag. 75. in margin. l. ult. read. A. D. 749.
Pag. 118. l. 6. for *vindiare*, r *vindicare*.
Pag. 135. l. 11. may be added [to be baptised]
For *Eusebius pamphilus* in sundry places, may be more truly read *Eusebius pamphili.*

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE PARTICVLAR CONTENTS of the ſeverall Chapters of this Treatiſe.

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Cap. II. *That there was an inequality of the Clergy, and that Biſhops were Iudges, Rulers, or Superintendents of Preſbyters, and the inferiour Clergy in the Apoſtles dayes.*

Cap. III. *That Biſhops were Iudges, Rulers, or Superintendents over Presbyters and others, and ſuperiour to them, proved by Apoſtolicall men and Fathers of the Primitive times, and that the three Orders of Biſhop, Presbyter, and Deacon, continued alwayes in the Church.*

Cap. IV. *That* Timothy *and* Titus *were Biſhops, proved by the authority of ancient Fathers and Writers.*

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Cap VIII. *That there hath and muſt be a continued Succeſsion of Biſhops from the Apoſtles, proved by Scripture.*

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Cap. XI. *A brieſe Application of the former diſcourſe, with a vindication of the Churches authority.*

CAP. I.

Cap. I.

That there was a Superiority in the Clergy in the first and best times.

OUr blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ having first made choice of twelve Apostles, he afterward appointed seventy other Disciples. Now these seventy were not equall to the twelve, neither had they so great priviledges, or power, as the twelve had: for *to the twelve he gave power against uncleane spirits, to cast them out, to heale all manner of sickenesse and disease*[a], *to raise the dead.* To them is given the power of the keyes. [b] *Verely I say unto you whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven.* To them it is said *Ye are the light of the world*[c]. and *Ye shall sit upon the twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israell*[d]. *And Iesus going up to Hierusalem, tooke the twelve Disciples apart in the way*, where he foretold them his Passion, and other Mysteries[e]. He foretold them *the destruction of the Temple, and the signes of his coming to Iudgment*[f]. He washed their feete[g]. He *made them partakers of his last supper*[h]. He *appeared to them after*

a Matt. 10. 1. & 8.
b Matt. 18. 18.
c Matt. 5. 14.
d Matt. 19. 28.
e Matt. 20. 17. &c.
f Matt. 24.
g Joh. 13. 5.
h Matt. 26.

ter his reſurrection [i]. *He was ſeene of them forty daies, and ſpake unto them the things pertaining to the kingdome of God* [k]. But to the ſeventy he gave no ſuch power or priviledge, they had no ſuch large authority: yet they were ſent *two and two before his face into every City, and place, whither he himſelfe would come* [a]. and they had power *to heale the ſicke*, and were commanded to preach that *the Kingdome of God was at hand* [b]. But we read not that the power of the * *keyes*, and other Priviledges were granted to them, whence it is apparent, that they came farre ſhort of the preheminences the twelve had. Here then is an expreſſe inequality and difference even in our Saviours time.

Immediatly after the Aſcenſion, the Holy Ghoſt being come, and the number of beleivers increaſed, the Apoſtles ordained *Deacons* [c]. Which *Deacons* did not only take *charge of the widowes*, but *preached the word* alſo [d], and *baptized* [e]. They had alſo the gift of working *miracles*, and power *to caſt out devills* [f]. Yet theſe which [g] *Philip* baptized, received not the Holy Ghoſt, till ſome of the Apoſtles had *laid their hands on them* [h]. And the Apoſtles *hands being laid on them, they received the Holy Ghoſt* [i]. (an Act much reſembled by our Confirmation after Baptiſme, if new triſles had not outed ancient, and Apoſtolicall truths.) So here is a ſuperiority not onely in place (for none will deny that to the Apoſtles) but in office alſo, namely *Impoſition of hands*; A prerogative proper only to the Apoſtles, and their Succeſſors, and

[i] Marc. 16. 14. Joh. 21 1.

[k] Act. 1. 3.

[a] Luc 10. 1.

[b] Ibid. v. 9.

* *per Petrum dedit Epiſcopis claves bonorum Cœleſtium. Greg. Nyſſen. adverſus eos qui agrè ferunt re prehenſionem. pag 609.*

[c] Act. 6 6.

[d] Act. 8. 5.

[e] Ibid. v. 12.

[f] Ibid. 6, & 7.

[g] *Nam Philippus unum exceptum, quum eſſet Diaconus, poteſtatem non habebat, ut ad manuum ſuarum impoſitionem daret Spiritum Sanctum.* Anar. Veteſtiſſ. collect. per Occumen. in loc.

[h] Act. 8. 14, 15, 16.

[i] Ibid. v. 17.

and to none other without ordination by the Apoſtles or their Succeſſors, or elſe an extraordinary calling immediatly from God. See *Act.* 8.17. 18. *Act.* 19.6.

When the word of God grew and multiplied [a], not long after [b] *Elders were ordained*: A degree ſuperiour to Deacons, but inferiour to the Apoſtles, who had the overſight of thoſe Elders: for they governed and ruled the *Churches* [c] under the *Apoſtles*. and were commonly in place next unto them [d]. *they were received of the Church, and of the Apoſtles and Elders* [e]. *the Apoſtles and Elders came together* [f]. *the Apoſtles and Elders and Brethren ſend greeting &c* [g]. And the Apoſtle ſaith that God hath *ſet ſome in the Church, firſt Apoſtles, ſecondarily Prophets, thirdly Teachers &c* [h]. Here is an expreſſe imparity, the Apoſtles being ſuperiour to all others [i]. And not to omitt the ſeven Angels *of the ſeven Churches, Revel.* 2. It cannot be denied but that theſe Angels were the *Præpoſiti* of thoſe Churches, for ſo much appeareth out of the genuine ſenſe of the text, and *Beza* [k] himſelfe doth acknowledge the ſame. Now if they were not Biſhops, but Presbyters only (as ſome would have it) ſurely thoſe great Cities were meanly accommodated with but one Preſbyter in each City; for further the text doth not beare. But it is an evident truth, that anciently there were many Elders or Preſbyters in one City, and but one Biſhop. Theſe Angells then cannot in any rationall conſtruction be interpreted to be other then

[a] Act. 12. 24.
[b] Act. 14. 23. ſuch as are now called Presbyters or Prieſts.
[c] 2 Cor 11. 28. Saint *Paul* had the charge of all the Churches, which *Haymo in loc.* excoundeth of all Churches to whom hee preached.
[d] Act. 20. 17. 25, 26, 27, &c.
[e] Act. 15. 4.
[f] Ibid. v. 6.
[g] Ibid. v. 23.
[h] 1 Cor. 12. 28.
[i] *Officiorum ſunt diſcrimina. Apoſtoli ſummi ſunt, deinde Epiſcopi, deinde Paſtores, deinde Doctores & Diaconi.* Luther in Evang. pro feſto S. Jacobi, & Beza in Apoc. 2. 1.

the particular Bishops of those Churches respectively, and such as had the rule and oversight of Presbyters and Deacons, seeing that Episcopall government, or Episcopacy in that very sense was before that time instituted and erected in all Christian Churches, as hereafter shall appeare.

Cap. II.

That there was an inequality of the Clergy, and that Bishops were Iudges, Rulers, or Superintendents of Presbyters and the inferiour Clergy in the Apostles dayes.

THe Apostles having instituted the two former Orders of Presbyters and Deacons it was not long till there was cause to place superintendents over those Elders and Deacons, for the regulating and well demeaning of them in their severall places and functions, and to exercise Episcopall authority over them; of which ranke or order were *Timothy* and *Titus*. For Saint *Paul* giveth *Timothy* [a] particular instructions touching *Deacons*. And he giveth some directions touching *Elders* or *Presbyters*. [b] *Against an Elder receive not an accusation, but before two or three witnesses; them that sinne rebuke before all, that others also may feare; I charge thee before God and the elect Angels, that thou observe these things without preferring one before another,* (or as it is in the Originall [a] *sine prajudicio*, or as *Erasmus* hath it, *sine præcipitatione judicii*) *doing*

[a] 1 Tim. 3. 8.

[b] 1 Tim. 5. 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

[a] Προκρίμα τος, which *Tindall* doth translate, *Hasty judgement.*

ing nothing by partiality. But if an accusation be attested (though against a *Presbyter*) by two or more Witnesses, then it must be received. And what then? those *that sinne*, [b] *rebuke before all, that others may feare*. And what more? *observe these things without preferring one before another*, (or without [c] *preiudice*) *doing nothing by partiality*. Must *Timothy* receive accusations against *Elders* or *Presbyters*? must he rebuke them, and that publikely to the example of others? must he observe these things without prejudice or rash judgement? must he be impartiall? and yet shall he be neither Judge, nor Superiour? Certainely *cujus est accusationem accipere, ejus est judicare*: and none can rebuke to the [d] terrour of others, but one that hath some office of Judicature over delinquents: and none can proceed without prejudice or impartially but a Judge, or at least one that hath the Checke or command of others. Now all this *Timothy* had, as appeareth by the expresse word of God: *Timothy* therefore by authority of the same word was a Judge, Ruler, or Superintendent over *Presbyters*, & consequently superiour to thē. where also it may be observed that *Timothy*, & not any of the *Laytie* were authorized to reprove the *Clergy*.

For this cause left I thee in Crete *that thou shouldest set in order* (or as it is in the originall, [a] *correct*, † or *amend*) *the things that are wanting* [b] *&c.* Could *Titus* correct, amend, or set things in order, unlesse he had power to command those among whom he was to exercise this authority? and can any man

[b] *Idcò coram omnibus argue, ut hoc ipso, timorem habeant peccandi cæteri sacerdotes, scientes similia pœna se plectendos si peccaverint, Bruno, in loc.*

[c] According to an ancient English Copy M. S.

[d] *Oportet ut aliis terrori sit Episcopus, Theophil. in loc.*

[a] Ἐπιδιορθώσῃ † *pergas corrigere.* Ita convertit ex Chrysostomo Erasmus, propter additam præpositionem ἐπὶ, quæ indicat Titum in eo opere perficiendo Paulo successisse. Beza in loc.

[b] Tit. 1. 5.

man command, but one that is ſuperiour to o-thers? undoubtedly it is in vaine for any man to undertake to correct or ſet any thing in order a-mong his equalls; for *par in parem non habet imperium*. And it is well knowne that power to receive accuſations, to convent, to rebuke, to correct &c. is onely incident to Judges, Rulers, Overſeers, and ſuch as have dominion over others, and doth create authority and ſuperiority where none was before, whence it may alſo be collected that *Titus* was an Archbiſhop, he having the rule of the whole Iland of *Crete*, and not of one particular City onely, for he was to ſet in order things that were wanting, and ordaine Elders † in every City.

† By Elders here are meant ſuch as we now call Biſhops, infra cap. 10. ob. 1.

Timothy was requeſted to abide at *Epheſus*, and to what end? *to charge ſome that they ſhould teach none other doctrine* [c] *&c.* in the 18. ver. he hath that *charge* committed to him: as alſo ſundry rules and directions are given him for the due ordering of the *Church* in divers particulars. [d] He is informed how a *Biſhop* ſhould be qualified [e]; and *Deacons* [f] alſo. He is directed to *prove the Deacons* [g], before they are admitted to that office; by theſe things *Timothy might know how to behave himſelfe in the Church* [h]. And he is required *to commit to faithfull men, who ſhould be able to teach others, the things that he had heard of Saint Paul* [i]. Now theſe ſeverall charges, and particular directions to *Timothy* touching the well ordering of the Church, election, demeanour, and qualificati-

c 1. Tim. 1. 3.

d 1. Tim. 2.

e 1 Tim. 3. 1, 2, &c.

f Ibid. v. 8. 12.

g Ibid. v. 10.

h Ibid. v. 15.

i 2 Tim. 2. 2.

on

on of Churchmen, and the delivering over of Saint *Pauls* doctrine unto others, and ſuch as muſt be able to teach, had bin to little purpoſe, if *Timothy* of whom this was required, had not bin the chiefe Ruler, Superintendent, or Biſhop, and thereby capable to undertake, and able to accompliſh whatſoever the Apoſtle enjoyned him. But here is an undeniable ſubordinate power, and imparity: Saint *Paul* in nature of a Patriarch commandeth *Timothy* and *Titus*, who muſt likewiſe governe, rule, and inſtruct *Biſhops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, as inferiour to them. Now it being ſo viſiblie evident by the written word of God, that the office of a Biſhop, namely, to receive accuſations, rebuke, put in order, correct, ordeine *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, and to ſee that they preach none other (or falſe doctrine) is infallibly *jure divino*, and was erected, and eſtabliſhed by the Apoſtles; it moſt neceſſarily followeth, that Epiſcopacy, or the Epiſcopall government of our Biſhops over the reſt of the Clergy as ſuperiour to them, is no otherwiſe than *jure divino*: for where we find the office or function of a Biſhop, there we find Epiſcopacy. And ſuch of our zealous guides as through blindnes or wilfullnes, cannot by theſe ſeverall texts of Scripture plainely diſcerne that a Biſhop is ſuperiour to, and ought to have the overſight and controll of the inferiour Clergy, but will notwithſtanding oppugne Epiſcopall government as Popiſh and Antichriſtian, may fitly be compared

man command, but one that is ſuperiour to o-thers? undoubtedly it is in vaine for any man to undertake to correct or ſet any thing in order a-mong his equalls; for *par in parem non habet imperium*. And it is well knowne that power to receive accuſations, to convent, to rebuke, to correct &c. is onely incident to Judges, Rulers, Overſeers, and ſuch as have dominion over others, and doth create authority and ſuperiority where none was before, whence it may alſo be collected that *Titus* was an Archbiſhop, he having the rule of the whole Iland of *Crete*, and not of one particular City onely, for he was to ſet in order things that were wanting, and ordaine Elders † in every City.

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f Ibid. v. 8. 12.

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h Ibid. v. 15.

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on of Churchmen, and the delivering over of Saint *Pauls* doctrine unto others, and such as must be able to teach, had bin to little purpose, if *Timothy* of whom this was required, had not bin the chiefe Ruler, Superintendent, or Bishop, and thereby capable to undertake, and able to accomplish whatsoever the Apostle enjoyned him. But here is an undeniable subordinate power, and imparity: Saint *Paul* in nature of a Patriarch commandeth *Timothy* and *Titus*; who must likewise governe, rule, and instruct *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, as inferiour to them. Now it being so visiblie evident by the written word of God, that the office of a Bishop, namely, to receive accusations, rebuke, put in order, correct, ordeine *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, and to see that they preach none other (or false doctrine) is infallibly *jure divino*, and was erected, and established by the Apostles; it most necessarily followeth, that Episcopacy, or the Episcopall government of our Bishops over the rest of the Clergy as superiour to them, is no otherwise than *jure divino*: for where we find the office or function of a Bishop, there we find Episcopacy. And such of our zealous guides as through blindnes or wilfullnes, cannot by these severall texts of Scripture plainely discerne that a Bishop is superiour to, and ought to have the oversight and controll of the inferiour Clergy, but will notwithstanding oppugne Episcopall government as Popish and Antichristian, may fitly be com-

pared to ſuch as Saint *Paul* complaines of, who *deſire to be teachers of the Law, underſtanding neither*
a 1 Tim. 1. 7. *what they ſay, nor whereof they affirme* [a], or unto ſuch of whom our Saviour ſpeaketh, *by hearing ye ſhall heare and ſhall not underſtand, and ſeeing ye*
b Mat. 13. 14 *ſhall ſee, and ſhall not perceive* [b]. But as (for prevention of ſchiſme, and preſervation of unity, ruling, well ordering, and governing of the Church and Church-men) there was a ſuperiority in the Clergy, ſome having authority over others and thoſe Biſhops by their office and function, and that in the Apoſtles dayes: ſo theſe Biſhops, and their authority alſo continued in the whole Church univerſally, without interruption both in the Primitive times and in after ages thereof; as by the teſtimonies of Apoſtolicall men, and the moſt ancient and approved Fathers and Writers ſhall moſt evidently and undeniably appeare.

CAP. III.

Cap. III.

That Biſhops were Judges, Rulers, or Superintendents over Presbyters and others, and ſuperiour to them, proved by Apoſtolicall men, and Fathers of the Primitive times, and that the three Orders of Biſhop, Presbyter, and Deacon continued alwaies in the Church

IT will not be denied, that at the firſt Ordination of *Presbyters* theſe two appellations of *Biſhop* and *Presbyter* were indifferently taken one for the other, and were appropriate to one and the ſame perſon; Saint *Hierome in Tit. Cap.* 1. affirmeth ſo much: where hee ſaith that before ſuch time as the devill had raiſed contention in the Church, *Idem fuit Presbyter qui Epiſcopus: The ſame man was called both Presbyter and Biſhop.* And *Eccleſiæ communi conſilio Presbyterorum gubernabantur: The Churches were govern'd by the Common Councell of Presbyters.* Upon which and other like teſtimonies of ſome of the Ancient, the ignorant and unſtable of our times (not having regard to the circumſtance of time) doe (as he that built his houſe upon the ſand) ground their deceitfull arguments againſt that moſt ſacred and divine order of Epiſcopacy, moſt impudently, ignorantly, and heretically

ly branding it as merely Popiſh and Antichriſtian.

And becauſe Saint *Hierome* by reaſon of the former teſtimonies is ſaid to oppugne Epiſcopacy, and ſome ſticklers in this quarrell pray aid and protection of him, I will begin with Saint *Hierome*, and let himſelfe tell us if he be the ſame man as theſe dreamers would perſwade us; His words are theſe, *Antequam diaboli inſtinctu ſtudia in religione fierent, & diceretur in populis, ego ſum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ communi Presbyterorum conſilio eccleſiæ gubernabantur: poſtquam vero unuſquiſque eos quos baptizaverat, ſuos putabat eſſe, non Chriſti, in toto orbe decretum eſt, ut unus de Presbyteris electus ſuperponeretur cæteris, ad quem omnis eccleſiæ cura pertineret, & ſchiſmatum ſemina tollerentur* [a]. *Before the time that by the devils inſtinct factions aroſe in religion, and that the people ſaid I am of Paul, I of Apollo, and I of Cephas, all thinges were managed by the common Counſell of Presbyters: But after ſuch time that every man reputed thoſe whom he had baptized, to be his owne, and not Chriſts, it was decreed through the whole world, that one choſen out of the Presbyters ſhould be ſet over all the reſt; unto whom the whole charge of the Church ſhould belong, and that thereby the ſeeds of Schiſmes might be taken away.* Againe *fuerunt, O eccleſia, Apoſtoli patres tui, quia ipſi te genuerunt; Nunc autem quia illi receſſerunt a mundo, habes pro his Epiſcopos filios qui a te creati ſunt: ſunt enim & hi patres tui quia ab ipſis regeris* [b]. *The Apoſtles, O Church, were thy*

[a] Hier. in Tit. 1.

[b] Idem in. Pſal. 44. v. 16.

thy Fathers, becauſe they begat thee; but now ſithence their departure out of the world, thou haſt inſtead of them Biſhops as ſonnes begotten of thee theſe are now thy Fathers becauſe thou art govern'd by them. Now it is cleare, that Saint *Hierome* was not of the opinion as our Noveliſts do ſlanderouſly report him; and if we obſerve the force of his words, theſe particulars will be warranted by the authority of this ancient and learned Father.

I. The time when this order was firſt inſtituted, and that was when one ſaid, *I am of Paul &c.* and this every one knoweth was before Saint *Paul* wrote his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians*, and therefore of neceſſity in the Apoſtles dayes.

II. Where and by whom: It was decreed throughout the world (*viz.*) the Chriſtian world) and this could not be but by the Apoſtles and the whole Church, and conſequently by the direction of the Holy Ghoſt *who guided them into all truth*[a].

[a] Joh. 16, 13.

III. To what end. And that was that they might take all the care of the Church for prevention of ſchiſme.

IIII. From whence this *Præpoſitus* muſt be taken: And that was from among the *Presbyters.*

This out of Saint *Hierome* touching the originall of Epiſcopall government; more of him ſhall be produced in its proper place: In the interim let us ſee what others more ancient then Saint *Hierome* have written touching this government

vernment, and the firſt inſtitution thereof.

Clement an Apoſtolicall man (even the ſame *Clement* mentioned by Saint *Paul*[a]) in his firſt Epiſtle to the *Corinthians pag.* 57. maketh knowne that the Apoſtles foreſaw that contention would ariſe touching Epiſcopacy, for which very cauſe they in their life time eſtabliſhed the Order of *Biſhops*, and left a ſetlement of officers and miniſters in the Church to ſucceed them after their deathes in their charge and function: He thus ſaith, *Et Apoſtoli noſtri per Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum cognoverunt, contentionem de nomine Epiſcopatûs oboriturâm: atq; ob hanc cauſam perfectâ præſcientiâ præditi, conſtituerunt prædictos, ac deſcriptas deinceps miniſtrorum officiorûmque vices reliquerunt, ut in defunctorum locum alij viri probati ſuccedere, et illorum * munia exequi poſſent,* And a little after addeth, that it is no ſmall offence to reject ſuch who doe holily and unreproveably undergo the office of a Biſhop. *Non enim leviter peccabimus, ſi eos repudiaverimus, qui ſanctè & ſine reprehenſione Epiſcopatûs munera offerunt.* And if any man ſhould thinke that by *Biſhops* here, none but *Elders* or *Presbyters* are intended, as if that time there was no difference betweene a *Biſhop* and *Presbyter*, heare what hee further ſaith: *Beati ſunt Presbyteri, qui viam ſunt emenſi, & diem obierunt, quique perfectam, & fructuoſam diſſolutionem conſequuti ſunt, &c. pag.* 58. *Bleſſed are the Presbyters, who ſo lived and died, that they obtained a com-*

[a] *Phil.* 4. *Euſeb. Eccleſ. Hiſt. Lib* 3. *Cap.* 15, 16. *Et Lib.* 5. *cap.* 6.

* *Miniſterium.*

fortable

fortable and joyfull dissolution. Here we may also see, that Episcopacy was erected by the blessed Apostles; therefore if Saint *Hieromes* evidence be not sufficient to give satisfaction, this witnesse is without all manner of exception, this worke being out of the reach of an *Index expurgatorius*, and can in no wise be supposed spurious or suppositicious, but was in so great estimation in the Primitive times, as that in the dayes of *Eusebius* it was publikely read [a] in most Churches. The same *Clement in Epist. ad Iacobum fratrem Domini* [b] setteth forth the three Orders of *Bishop*, *Presbyter*, and *Deacon*, of which the *Bishop* is chiefe in these words; *Similis est omnis ecclesiæ status, navi magnæ, quæ per undosum pelagus, de diversis locis et regionibus viros portat, ad unam potentis regis urbem properare cupientes; sit ergò navis hujus portus Dominus ipse omnipotens Deus, gubernator vero sit Christus; Tum deinde proreti, officium Episcopus impleat, Presbyteri nautarum, Diaconi dispensatorum teneant locum. The state of every Church is like unto a great ship, which through a vast and stormy sea, and from divers places and Countries transport's such as desire speedily to arrive at the City of some potent King: let therefore the Lord himselfe God Almighty, be the haven of this ship, & Christ the Pilot; let the Bishop be instead of a net; let the Presbyters supply the roome or office of Mariners, and the Deacons of Dispensators.* Of the authority of this Epistle there is some question, yet *Alsted* [c] a learned Protestant *Divine* doth acknowledge it.

[a] Euseb. Eccles. Hist. Lib 3 cap. 16.
[b] Ultra med.
[c] Alsted. Chron. Symbolorum.

And

And this very ſaying of *Clement* is cited by *Anacletus in Epiſt. omnibus eccleſiis* [a]. where he ſaith *Ait Clemens beatus anteceſſor noſter, ſimilis eſt eccleſiæ ſtatus &c.* reciting the very ſame words as before. And if it be ſaid, that both theſe Epiſtles, as well that of *Anacletus*, as that of *Clement*, are ſuppoſititious, yet the Learned cannot deny them to be very ancient, and within the compaſſe of the Primitive times.

Ignatius that bleſſed Saint and Martyr and Apoſtolicall man, who was Saint *Iohns* Diſciple and the ſecond *Biſhop* of *Antioch* next after Saint *Peter*, is full of pregnant teſtimonies, and firſt in *Epiſt. ad Trallianos* [b]. he preſſeth it as a matter of neceſſity that nothing be attempted without the *Biſhop*. *Neceſſe eſt quicquid facitis, ut ſine Epiſcopo nihil tentetis*; And then deſcendeth to the two inferiour Orders of *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, *Sed et Presbyteris ſubiecti eſtote ut Chriſti Apoſtolis, qui ſpes veſtra eſt, hoc autem pacto viventes, in ipſo inveniemur: Oportet et Diaconis myſteriorum Chriſti miniſtris per omnia placere &c. Be ye ſubiect to the Presbyters alſo, as to the Apoſtles of Chriſt, who is your hope; for if we ſo live, we ſhall be found to be in him: It behoves you likewiſe to pleaſe the Deacons in all things as the miniſters of the myſteries of Chriſt.* And that we may underſtand the neceſſity of this obedience, he giveth this firme and ſolid reaſon, that without theſe, there is no true Church: *Sine his eccleſia electa non eſt, nulla ſine his ſanctorum congregatio, nulla ſanctorum collectio.* And in the ſame Epiſtle

[a] *Prope initium*

[b] *Prope initium*

Epiſtle [a] he expreſſely affirmeth ſuch to be out of the Church, and to be worſe then Infidells, who dare attempt any thing without the *Biſhop*, *Presbyter*, and *Deacon*: *Qui vero foris eſt, hic eſt qui ſine Epiſcopo, Sacerdote, et Diacono quippiam agit, et ejuſmodi inquinatam habet conſcientiam, et infideli deterior eſt. Quid enim aliud eſt Epiſcopus, quàm is qui omni principatu et poteſtate ſuperior eſt?* And againe, *Qui his non obedit, ſine Deo prorſus, et impurus eſt, et Chriſtum contemnit, et conſtitutionem ejus imminuit. Whoſoever obeyes not them, is altogether without God and impure, and both deſpiſeth Chriſt, and violates his conſtitution.* And neare the end of the ſame Epiſtle he requireth every one, eſpecially *Presbyters*, to ſupport the *Biſhop* in honour of God the Father, and in honour of Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles. *Decet ſingulos veſtrûm, et præcipuè Presbyteros refocillare Epiſcopum, in honorem Dei patris, et in honorem Jeſu Chriſti et Apoſtolorum.* Alſo, *in Epiſt. ad Magneſian.* [b] he admoniſheth that for the preſervation of unity they yeild ſubjection to the *Biſhop*, even as Chriſt was obedient to his Father. *Subjecti eſſe Epiſcopo, ut Chriſtus patri, ut inter vos divina quædam ſit unio.* And doe not we ſee and underſtand what devilliſh diſcord and contention hath ſprung up and taken roote in the Church, and how this divine unity is utterly decayed, ſince the time that every licentious pen and tongue hath been permitted to vent and ſpread abroad

a *Ante medium.*

b *Prope finem.*

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a Pope initium

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a *Ante medium.*

b *Prope finem.*

ſo many irreligious and groſſe abſurdities againſt Epiſcopall government? tearming it no better then Popiſh and Antichriſtian? We may hereby diſcerne what good fruit corrupt trees do bring forth, ſuch as worſhip their owne more then vaine imaginations, preferring them before any authority whatſoever: ſuch zealots ſhould doe well to diſtruſt their owne fancies, and hearken unto this bleſſed Martyr, who giveth them a further leſſon *in Epiſt. ad Philadelphenſes* [a]. *Principes obediant Cæſari, milites principibus, Diaconi, et reliquus Clerus, una cùm populo univerſo, militibus, principibus & Cæſare, ipſi Epiſcopo pareant, Epiſcopus Chriſto, ut Chriſtus patri obedivit, & hac ratione per omnia conſervabitur unitas. Let the Princes obey Cæſar, the ſouldiers obey the Princes, let the Deacons and the reſt of the Clergy, together with all the people, ſouldiers, Princes, and Cæſar be ruled by the Biſhop; let the Biſhop obey Chriſt, as Chriſt obeyed the Father, and by this meanes perfect unity ſhall be preſerved.* And in the ſame Epiſtle [b] he ſheweth the grand miſcheife of diſcord, and the ſweete benefit of unity, where he ſaith, *Ubi animorum diſcordia eſt, & ira, & odium, ibi Deus non habitat: omnibus igitur pœnitentibus remittit Deus, ſi concurrant ad unitatem Chriſti, et Epiſcopi concilium. Where there is diſcord of mindes, anger, and hatred, God dwelleth not: But he forgives all that repent, if they adhere to the unity of Chriſt, and apply to the Councell of the Biſhop.* Againe *ſine Epiſcopo nihil facite, carnem veſtram, ut Dei templum, cuſtodite, unitatem*

[a] *Ante medium.*

[b] *Vltra medium.*

nitatem amate, diſſidia fugite, imitatores eſte Pauli et aliorum Apoſtolorum, ſicut et ipſi fuêre Chriſti. Doe nothing without the Biſhop, keepe your bodies as the Temples of God, love unity, ſhun contention, be ye followers of Paul, and the other Apoſtles, as they were of Chriſt. And againe *Non meus eſt ſermo, ſed Dei: Epiſcopo attendite, & Presbyteris, & Diaconis. It is God's word and not mine, give attention to your Biſhop, Presbyters, and Deacons.* And a little further in the ſame Epiſtle he maketh an expreſſe inequality betweene *Biſhops* and *Presbyters*. *Boni ſunt Sacerdotes, ſermoniſque miniſtri; praſtantior eſt Pontifex, cui ſancta ſanctorum & ſecreta Dei credita ſunt. The Preiſts and Miniſters of the word are good, but the Biſhop is ſurmounting, to whom the Holy of Holies, and the ſecrets of God are entruſted. In Epiſt. ad Smyrnenſes* [b], he calleth the *Biſhop Principem ſacerdotum. The Prince of Preiſts.* where alſo he giveth a more full and perſpicuous teſtimony of the imparity of the *Clergy*, whereof the *Biſhop* is cheife: *Laici Diaconis ſubjiciantur, Diaconi Presbyteris, Presbyteri Epiſcopo, Epiſcopus Chriſto, ut ipſe patri. Let the Laickes be ſubject to the Deacons, the Deacons to the Presbyters, the Presbyters to the Biſhop, the Biſhop to Chriſt, as Chriſt unto his Father.* In his Epiſtle *ad Polycarpum* [c], hee prayeth that his lot may fall among thoſe which obey the *Biſhop, Presbyters*, and *Deacons*. *Meam animam libens commutavero cum animabus eorum qui Epiſcopo parent, Presbyteris, & Diaconis, faxit Deus ut cum illis mihi portio contingat a Deo.*

[b] *Vltra medium.*

[c] *Vltra medium.*

Deo. In his Epiſtle *ad Epheſianos* [a]. He calleth upon them to be of one mind, and of one opinion, and that they be ſubject unto the *Biſhop* and *Presbyters*, . *Ut ſubjecti Epiſcopo, & Presbyteris per omnia ſitis ſanctificati*. *That being ſubject unto the Biſhop and Presbyters, ye may be throughly ſanctified* Et poſt pauca. *Subjecti eſte Epiſcopo, & Presbyteris, & Diaconis: Qui enim his obedit, obedit Chriſto, qui hos conſtituit: Qui verò his reluctatur, reluctatur Chriſto Ieſu: Qui autem non obedit filio, non videbit vitam, ſed ira Dei manet ſuper eum. Be ye ſubject unto the Biſhop, Presbyters, and Deacons, for whoſoever obeyeth them, doth obey Chriſt who ordeined them: But he that ſtriveth with them, ſtrugleth with Chriſt Jeſus, and he that obeyeth not the ſonne ſhall not ſee life, but the wrath of God abideth on him.* Let the Maligners of Epiſcopall authority obſerve this, and beware how they ſpurne againſt Chriſt and his ſacred ordinances.

[a] *Prope initium.*

Polycarpus, who (as *Irenæus* [b] doth teſtify) was ordained *Biſhop* of *Smyrna* by the Apoſtles, writing to the *Philippians* beginneth his Epiſtle in this manner: *Polycarpus, et qui cum eo ſunt Presbyteri, eccleſiæ Dei, quæ eſt Philippenſis &c. Polycarpus and the Presbyters with him, to the Church of God, which is at Philippi &c.* by which it is manifeſt, that there were many *Presbyters* in *Smyrna*, and but one *Biſhop*, who then was *Polycarpus* himſelfe. This Epiſtle is atteſted by *Euſebius* [c] to be the proper and genuine Epiſtle of *Polycarpus*: where many things are *verbatim* cited out of it, and

[b] Iren. lib. 3. Cap. 3.

[c] Euſeb. Eccl. Hiſt. lib. 3. c. 36.

and therefore can in no wiſe be accounted ſpurious.

Dionyſius Areopagita [a] ſetteth forth the three diſtinct Orders of *Biſhops*, *Preſbyters* and *Deacons* under the titles of *Pontifex*, *Sacerdos*, and *Miniſter*, and ſo doth S. *Maximus* in his *Scholia* expound them: The *Biſhop* he affirmeth to be the cheife, and *Presbyters* ſubject unto him; there he treateth of their offices and ordination; as touching their offices he ſaith; [b] *Eſt igitur Pontificatus, ordo qui perficiente vi præditus, munera hierarchiæ, quæ perficiunt, ſecretus a cæteris, ac cum delectu exequitur; ſacrorumque diſciplinam interpretando tradit, ſanctumque & conſentaneum eorum ſtatum, atque vim docet. Sacerdotum autem ordo, qui ad lucem deducit, ſpectatum divina myſteria introducit eos qui initiantur, ſubjectus Pontificum ordini; & cum eo propria, ſuaque munera exequitur: atque in ijs quidem quæ facit, divina opera ſanctiſſimis ſignis & ſacramentis oſtendit, ſpectatoreſque eos qui accedunt, efficit, & in ſanctorum myſteriorum ſocietatem communionemque admittit; ſed ad Pontificem remittit eos, qui diſciplinæ myſteriorum, quæ aſpexerunt cupiditate ducuntur. Miniſtrorum verò ordo eſt qui expiat, & diſſimilia diſcernit, antequàm ad Sacerdotum ſacra veniant: expiat eos, qui adeunt, puros à contrariis efficit, dignóſque ſacrorum myſteriorum ſpectaculo & communione. Episcopacy therefore is an order which being endowed with power of* perfection, *doth apart from the reſt execute ſuch duties of the Hierarchie, as do* perfect; *It de-*

a Lib. de Eccl. Hierarchia. c. 5. de ſacris ordin.

b vbi ſupra.

clares and preſcribes the diſcipline of Religious actions, and teacheth the holy and meete condition, and efficacy of them. But the order of Preiſts, which directeth unto Light, *and introduceth ſuch as are initiated to behold divine myſteries, is ſubject unto the order of the Biſhops, and therewith exerciſeth it's own and proper functions: and in thoſe duties which it performes, declareth divine workes by moſt ſacred ſignes and ſacraments, and makes ſuch as approach ſpectators of them, and admits them to the ſociety and communion of the holy myſteries; but remits unto the Biſhop ſuch as are deſireous of the diſcipline of the myſteries they beheld. But the order of the Deacons is that which* expiates, *and ſevereth or diſtinguiſheth ſuch as are unfit, before they are admitted unto the Preiſts myſteries; it expiates thoſe that approach, of polluted makes them pure, and worthy both to veiw and communicate of ſacred myſteries.* I know the time of this Author is queſtioned by many, and if he be not of that antiquity as is commonly ſaid *viz. Ann Domini* 70. yet our beſt Divines acknowledge him to be within the Primitive times: And *Gregory* the great ſtileth him [a] *Antiquus & venerabilis pater.* But by reaſon of the doubt in what time he lived, I have placed him after ſuch as without ſcruple were Apoſtolicall men.

a Hom. 34. ſuper Evangel.

Urban. 1. *in Epiſt. de rerum communione* [b], ſaith that *Biſhops* are the Apoſtles Succeſſors in their Dioceſſes. *Ipſæ verò res in ditione ſingulorum paræciarum Epiſcoporum, qui locum tenent Apoſtolorum,*

b Prope initium.

poſtolorum, erant, et ſunt uſque adhuc, et futuris ſemper debent eſſe temporibus. The goods of the Church were, and yet are, and in all ſucceeding ages for ever ought to be at the diſpoſing of the ſeverall Dioceſan Biſhops, who ſucceed in the Apoſtles roome. And that the power of Judicature, binding and looſing appertaineth to them; where he exhorteth that Reverence be given them, and that none communicate with ſuch, with whom the *Biſhops* do not communicate. *Quod autem ſedes in Epiſcoporum eccleſiis excelſa conſtitutæ & præparatæ inveniuntur in throno, ſpeculationem & poteſtatem judicandi & ſolvendi atque ligandi a Domino ſibi datam materiem docent. Unde ipſe Salvator in Evangelio ait. Quæcunque ligaveritis &c. Ideo iſta prætulimus, Chariſſimi, ut intelligatis poteſtatem Epiſcoporum veſtrorum, in eiſque Dominum reveremini, et eos ut animas veſtras diligatis, & quibus illi non communicant, non communicetis, & quos ejecerint non recipiatis. But in that high ſeates are found erected and furniſhed in a more eminent place in Biſhops Churches, we are informed, that they have authority from the Lord to overſee, and power to judge, and to looſe and bind, whence our Saviour himſelfe ſaith in the Goſpell: whatſoever ye ſhall binde &c. Theſe things therefore, dearely beloved, we have ſet before you, that ye may underſtand the power of your Biſhops, and in them may feare the Lord, and love them as your owne ſelves, and not communicate with ſuch whom they communicate not withall, nor entertaine ſuch as they ſhall caſt out.*

And

And neare the end of the ſame Epiſtle he directeth all faithfull Chriſtians to receive confirmation from the *Biſhop*. *Omnes fideles per manûs impoſitionem Epiſcoporum, Spiritum Sanctum poſt baptiſmum accipere debent, ut pleni Chriſtiani inveniantur.* *All the faithfull ought to receive the Holy Ghoſt after Baptiſme, by the Impoſition of the Biſhops handes, that ſo they may be found compleat Chriſtians.* I well know this Epiſtle is ſuſpected, but whoſoever was the Author, that he lived not in the Primitive times, I find none to affirme.

[a] *Ante medium.* *Origen in hom. 6. in Iſa.* [a] acknowledgeth the three diſtinct Orders of *Biſhops Preſbyters* and *Deacons*. *Nemo quibuſcunque venientibus aſſumens linteum Diaconus, vel Preſbyter, ſive Epiſcopus lavat pedes, &c.* *No deacon, Presbyter, or Biſhop, taketh a towell, and waſheth any comers feet.* Alſo

[b] *Ante medium.* *in Hom. 2 in Num.* [b] *Unde eſt quòd ſæpe audimus blaſphemare homines, & dicere, Ecce qualis Epiſcopus, aut qualis Preſbyter, aut qualis Diaconus! &c.* *Whence is it, that we often heare men blaſpheme and ſay, lo, what a Biſhop? or, what a Presbyter, or, what a Deacon? &c.* *In Hom, 19. in S. Mat.* [c] he calleth *Biſhops Principes Eccleſiæ.* *The Princes of the Church.* And *in Hom. 1. in S. Mat* [d] he ſaith that *Biſhops* receive the power of binding and loosing from the authority which Chriſt gave his Apoſtles, and therefore he advertiſeth *Biſhops* to be ſuch as by the Apoſtles command they are required. *Quoniam Epiſcopus dicitur habere*

[c] *Propè finem.*

[d] *Circa medium*

hujuſmodi

hujusmodi potestate, ut soluti ab eo, sint soluti in cœlo: aut ligati in terris, sint ligati in cœlo. Sit ergò Episcopus irreprehensibilis, qui alterum ligat, aut solvit, dignus ligare, vel solvere in cœlo; sit unius uxoris vir, sobrius, castus, ornatus. Because a Bishop is said to have power, that they which are loosed by him, are loosed in heaven, and such as are bound in earth are bound in heaven: let the Bishop therefore be unreproveable, and he that bindeth or looseth another, worthy to bind or loose in heaven; let him be the husband of one wife, sober, chast adorned, &c. He [a] also setteth forth the severall and distinct duties of *Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons.*

[a] In Roman. cap. 12. ver. 13.

Cornelius Bishop of Rome bending his speech against the heretique *Novatus* reporteth that the Catholique Church under his charge, ought to have but one Bishop, notwithstanding there were 46 Presbyters and 7 Deacons, &c. [b] *Nesciebat [Novatus] in ecclesia catholica unum Episcopum esse debere, ubi videbat esse Presbyteros quadraginta & sex, Diaconos septem, &c.*

[b] Eusеb Eccl. Histor. lib. 6. cap. 33.

Cyprian that blessed Saint and Martyr, saith, that the Apostles were *Bishops*, and calleth an Apostleship a *Bishopricke*. [b] *Meminisse autem Diaconi debent, quoniam Apostolos, id est Episcopos, & Præpositos Dominus elegit. Diaconos autem post ascensum Domini in cœlos Apostoli sibi constituerunt Episcopatûs sui & ecclesiæ ministros.* But the Deacons should remember, that the Lord chose the Apostles, i.e. the Bishops and overseers: But the Apostles after the Ascension of our Lord into heaven

[b] Cypr. lib. 3. Epist. 9.

made to themselves Deacons to be ministers of their Episcopacy, and of the Church. He also stileth [*Matthias*] by the name of *Bishop*, who was ordained in the roome of *Judas*[c]. And writing to *Cornelius* then *Bishop* of *Rome*, he calleth *Bishops* Successors of the Apostles, and that therefore they ought cheifely to labour and take care for preservation of unity. *Hoc enim vel maximè, frater & laboramus & laborare debemus, ut unitatem a Domino & per Apostolos nobis Successoribus traditam, quantum possumus, obtinere curemus*[d]. And having intimated[e], that when Christ spake to his Apostles, *He that heareth you heareth me &c.* he spake to all the *Præpositi* which by lawfull ordination succeed the Apostles, he then sheweth of what dangerous consequence it is for unworthy persons through presumptuous arrogancy to despise their *Bishop*, that (saith he) is the foundation of all schismes and hereſies. *Vnde schismata, & hæreses obortæ sunt, & oriuntur, nisi dum Episcopus qui unus est, & ecclesiæ præst, superbâ quorundam præsumptione contemnitur, & hominis dignatione Dei honoratus ab indignis hominibus judicatur? Whence have and do schismes and Hereſies arise, but whiles the Bishop who is one single man, and set over the Church, is sleighted by the insolent presumption of some certaine persons, and whiles he being a man whom God hath vouchsafed to honour, is censured by unworthy fellowes?* Were *Cyprian* now alive, he should see this saying of his fully verified, he might dayly behold not onely the most

c Lib. 1. Epist. 4. *ante medium*

d Lib. 2. Epist. 10.

e Lib. 4. Epist. 9.

moſt unworthy and baſeſt of people, but multitudes alſo of great ranke and quality, trampling upon Epiſcopall authority, and moſt contemptuouſly, opprobriouſly, and heretically oppoſing, and deſpightfully ſleighting and vilifying it. And what event this hath wrought, every child may diſcerne; for now ſchiſme and hereſie are growne to that height, and ſchiſmatiques and heretiques are become ſo notoriouſly inſolent, that they dare oppoſe all authority, without any manner of controll; Now theſe troublers of *Iſrael* are become innumerable, and ſwarme like motes in the Sunne: Theſe are the fruites of the contempt of Epiſcopall government; Thus men go out of the Church, Thus they rebell againſt the peace of Chriſt, againſt his ordinance, and divine unity, according to that of *Cyprian*: [a] *Hæc ſunt initia hæreticorum, & ortus atque conatus ſchiſmaticorum male cogitantium, ut ſibi placeant, ut præpoſitum ſuperbo tumore contemnant. Sic de eccleſia receditur, ſic altare prophanum foris collocatur, ſic contra pacem Chriſti & ordinationem atque unitatem Dei rebellatur. Hence doe malitious ſchiſmatiques and heretiques take their riſe, in that after their own fancy and with high preſumption, they contemne ſuch as are placed in authority over them. Thus doe they ſeparate from the Church, and out of the pale thereof build to themſelves a prophane altar; thus do they rebell againſt the peace of Chriſt, and againſt Gods ordinance and unity.* Againe, he noteth [b] how dangerous it is for

[a] Lib. 3. Epiſt. 9.

[b] Lib. 3. Epiſt. 14. *prope initium.*

Presbyters to contend for a parity with the *Bishop*, where he saith, *Quod enim non periculum metuere debemus de offensa Domini, cùm aliqui de Presbyteris, nec evangelii, nec loci sui memores, sed neque futurum Domini judicium, neque nunc sibi præpositum Episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquàm omnino sub antecessoribus factum est, cum contumelia, & contemptu Præpositi totum sibi vendicent?* what danger of offending the Lord may we not feare, when some of the *Presbyters* unmindfull of the Gospell, and their function, and of the judgement to come, nor yet regarding their *Bishop*, challenge all to themselves in contempt of him, that is set over them. And yet he hath not done, he doth not so give them over, till he plainely telleth such rebells to Christ and his Church, that unlesse they communicate with the *Bishop*, they are utterly out of the Church [a]. *Unde scire debes* (saith he) *Episcopum in ecclesia esse, & ecclesiam in Episcopo, & si qui cum Episcopo non sint, in ecclesia non esse, & frustra sibi blandiri eos, qui pacem cum Sacerdotibus Dei non habentes obrepunt, & latenter apud quosdam communicare se credunt, cum ecclesia, quæ catholica una est, scissa non sit neque divisa &c. Whence most thou know, that the Bishop is in the Church, and the Church to the Bishop, and that they which are not with the Bishop, are not in the Church, and that they deceive themselves in vaine, who dissenting from Gods preists, do privily sculke in some Conventicle, presuming that thus officiating with some few of their owne*

[a] Lib. 4. Epist. 9. *ultra medium*

owne sect, they communicate with the Church, which is one and Catholique, and cannot be rent or divided. *In lib. 4. epist. 2.* [b] he expresseth the three distinct Orders of *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*: and a little further in the same Epistle, he declareth that *Cornelius* (then *Bishop* of *Rome*) was not promoted to his Bishopricke the highest state of Priesthood, on a suddaine, but was preferred (*gradatim*) through all the Ecclesiasticall offices. *Non iste* [*Cornelius*] *ad Episcopatum subitò pervenit, sed per omnia ecclesiastica officia promotus, & in divinis administrationibus Dominum sæpe promeritus, ad sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus ascendit.* But some there are of a milder temper, who admit of *Bishops*, but not of Diocesan *Bishops*. Surely if this blessed Martyr may be credited, he was *Bishop* of a spatious Diocesse, for he saith [a], *Latiùs fusa est nostra provincia, habet etiam Numidiam, & Mauritaniam sibi cohærentes.* *Our Province is very farre extended, and comprehends both* Numidia *and* Mauritania *as belonging unto it.* And it appeareth that he was no lesse then an *Archbishop*, he having many *Bishops* within his Jurisdiction: For *placuerit* [b] (saith he) *tàm nobis, quàm confessoribus, & clericis urbicis, item universis Episcopis, vel in nostra provincia, vel trans mare constitutis &c.* *It hath seemed good aswell unto us, as the Confessours and City Clergy, as also unto all the Bishops whether in our Province, or beyond sea &c.*

b *Propè initium*

a Lib. 4. Epist. 8.

b Lib. 1. Epist 8. *ante medium.*

Dionysius Alexandrinus, who was a Contemporanean with Saint *Cyprian*, wrote much, though little thereof be now extant, yet in that little we read of both *Bishop*, and *Presbyter* [c], as two distinct functions, where he mentioneth one *Charemon* a reverend Bishop of *Nilopolis* in *Ægypt*.

[c] Apud Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 6. cap 31. *in fine*. Et cap. 34.

Eusebius Pamphilus Bishop of *Cæsarea*, hath recorded, that Saint *James* was the first *Bishop* of *Hierusalem*, being designed thereunto by Christ and his Apostles. *Iacobi cathedra* [d] (saith he) *qui primus in terris Episcopus ab ipso Salvatore, et ab Apostolis in Hierosolymis est electus quemq;, fratrem Domini volumina divina designant, usque, in hodiernum inibi conservatur. The cheire of Saint James, who was elected by our Saviour and his Apostles the first Bishop of Hierusalem, and whom the holy Scriptures call the brother of our Lord, remaines there yet unto this day.* He also relateth [e] that Saint *Peter* was the first *Bishop of Antioch*: and that [f] Saint *Marke* the *Evangelist* was ordained the first *Bishop* of *Alexandria*.

[d] Eccl. Hist. lib. 7. cap. 15.

[e] Eccl. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 36. Et Chron. *in* A. D. 38.

[f] Chron *in* A. D. 45. et 65.

Athanasius, that worthy pillar of the Church *and Archbishop of Alexandria, in Epist. ad Dracontium Episcopatum fugientem* [a], expostulateth the matter with *Dracontius*, for that he would not accept a Bishopricke, where he also entreateth him, that the government of Churches might not seeme tedious unto him; intimating that Christ by his Apostles did institute Episcopacy, and that without the *Bishops* there could be no Christians

[a] *Prope initium*. tom. 1. pag. 736. C.

Christians, neither could the Church continue. He thus writeth, *Quòd si ordinatio ecclesiarum tibi non placet, aut nullam omninò mercedem Episcopi functioni destinatam arbitraris, Servatoremque, qui eam ita instituit, contemnis; oro te, ne istiusmodi quid in mentem admittas, neque authores istiusmodi consiliorum sustineas. Non enim ista digna sunt Dracontio: Nam quæ Dominus per Apostolos instituit, ea et bona sunt, & firma persistunt, & fratrum ita meticulositas compescitur. Quòd si omnes eandem mentem habuissent qualem nunc habent, qui tibi in consilio sunt, quo pacto Christianus factus esses, nullis usquam repertis Episcopis? Quòd si verò post nostra tempora, istiusmodi animos induunt, quomodo poterunt stare ecclesiæ? But if the governing of the Church doth not please thee, or if thou dost conceive the function of a Bishop to deserve no reward, and slightest thy Saviour that instituted it, entertaine no such opinion I beseech thee, nor give eare to any that shall so ill advise thee. For this will not become Dracontius. For what the Lord hath instituted by his Apostles, must needs be good and permanent, and so the brethrens feare shall cease. But if all men had beene of the same mind as they are of that advise thee to this course, how hadst thou beene made a Christian, there being no Bishops? and if our posterity shall in succeeding ages take up this opinion, how shall the Church subsist?* Certainely, our Novelists differ much in opinion from this renowned Father, who was so farre from maintaining Episcopall government to be Antichristian, as that he concludeth, there can

can no Church continue without it. And we may the better understand, that by *Bishop* here, *Presbyter* cannot be intended; for in the end of the same Epistle he saith, *Hieracem Presbyterum nostrum, & Maximum Lectorem adhortatus sum istuc ire, ut etiam verbis te invitarent &c.* *I have entreated Hierax the Presbyter, and Maximus the Reader to goe unto thee, that they may by word of mouth also invite thee &c.* And the same ancient Father *in disput. 1. contra Arium* [a], maketh an expresse difference between a *Bishop* & *Presbyter*, where treating of some who had unduely obtained Episcopall power, saith, *qui cum antea ab ordine Presbyterorum revulsi essent, postmodū impietatis commendatione Episcopi appellati sunt.* *Who when before they were snatch'd away from the Order of Presbyters, were afterward impiously stiled Bishops.* And *in Apolog. 2.* [b], there is a most conspicuous evidence of a Diocesse, in these words. *Mareotes ager est Alexandria, quo in loco nunquam Episcopus fuit, imo ne Chorepiscopus quidem, sed universa ejus loci ecclesia Episcopo Alexandrino subjacent, ita tamen ut singuli pagi suos Presbyteros habeant, sunt autem pagi isti maximi decem numero, aut aliquanto plures.* *Mareotes* is a province of *Alexandria*, wherein never was *Bishop*, nor yet rurall *Bishop*, but all the Churches there are under the *Bishop* of *Alexandria*; notwithstanding every village hath it's severall *Presbyter*, which villages are at least ten in number. *Athanasius* [c] *& universi Episcopi Ægyptiorum, Thebaidorum, et Lybiarum in Synodo*

[a] *Ultra medium.*

[b] *Ante finem.*

[c] *Epist. ad Felicem Papam ante finem. apud Athanasium impress. Colon: 1548.*

Arsenius Episcopus Hypselitarum hath a short Epistle to Athanasius, where we find not onely the three distinct Orders of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons; but also a Metropolitane Bishop: *apud Athan. pag. 610.*

Synodo Alexandrinâ, doe expreſſe three diſtinct Orders of *Biſhops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, in theſe words. *Ad ſalutationem ergo veſtræ ſanctæ & honorandæ fraternitatis, vice noſtrâ Benedictum humilem noſtrum fratrem, veſtrum Epiſcopum, & Alexandrum Presbyterum, Criſpinum quoque Diaconum, veſtros famulos deſtinavimus. We have appointed our courteous brother* Benedict, *and* Alexander *the Presbyter, as alſo* Criſpine *the Deacon, your ſervants, to ſalute from us your holy and honoured brotherhood.* They alſo ſay[d], that *Epiſcopi oculi Domini, propter contemplationem & ſpeculationem vocantur. Biſhops in reſpect of their contemplation and overſight are called the eyes of the Lord.*

d Vide ſupra.

Fœlix Romanæ eccleſiæ Epiſcopus [a], goeth further preferring *Biſhops* before others of the *Clergy*. *Si officijs ſæcularibus humana lex ſubvenit, quanto magis Eccleſiaſticis et Domini Sacerdotibus, maximéq; Pontificibus, qui pupilla oculorum Domini appellantur, divina atq; canonica lex ſuffragari debet. Ait enim divinum de Epiſcopis eloquium: Qui vos tangit, tangit pupillam oculi mei: Et ſi ſeculares homines humanâ multipliciter explorantur lege, & requiſitiones atque inducia illis multorum menſium concedantur, ne injuſtè damnentur; quanto magis Epiſcopis, qui proximiores ſunt Deo, & ſuper eos ſunt conſtituti, poſitiq; in cæleſti militiâ, quæ impenſiùs ponderanda eſt, tempora ſunt concedenda multo ampliora, nè a quibuſdam graventur, aut opprimantur vel ſubitò damnentur. If humane Lawes aſſiſt ſecular Offices, how much rather ſhould the Divine*

a Reſcriptum Fœlicis ad Athan. & Orient. Epiſc.

vine and canonicall Law ſupport Eccleſiaſticall Offices, and the Preiſts of the Lord, eſpecially Biſhops which are called the apples of the Lords eyes. For the Scripture ſaith of Biſhops, He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of mine eye, and if lay men are with much deliberation tried by the Law of man, and ſeverall requeſts and the reſpite of many moneths allowed them, leſt they be unjuſtly condemned; how much rather ſhould a greater proportion of time be granted unto Biſhops, who are placed nearer unto God, and ſet over lay men, and (which is moſt of all to be weighed) are ranked in the heavenly Militia, leſt they ſhould be unjuſtly afflicted or oppreſſed by any raſh or ſuddaine Sentence.

Iulius Biſhop of Rome, in Epiſt. ad Danium Flacillum & alios [a], writing on the behalfe of Athanaſius, acknowledgeth the three diſtinct Orders of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, where he thus ſaith, Quinimo Presbyteri & Diaconi cum huc veniſſent, non tenuiter, ſed prolixè teſtimonia dixêre pro Athanaſio, affirmantes nihil eorum quæ illi objicerentur verum eſſe, eumq; conjurationibus premi, quin & Epiſcopi ex Ægypto & Africa in ſuis ſcriptis affirmârunt, conſtitutionem Athanaſii in ſuſcipiendo Epiſcopatu, legitimam & Eccleſiaſticam fuiſſe. The Presbyters and Deacons when they came hither did not ſlenderly but very amply teſtify for Athanaſius, affirming that nothing of the crimes objected againſt him was true, and that he was oppreſſed by conſpiracies; yea and the Ægptian and African Biſhops alſo maintained in their writings, that Athanaſius attained

[a] Circa medium.

ned unto his Bishopricke by a legall and Ecclesiasticall course.

Lucifer Calaritanus lib. 1. *ad Constantium pro Athanasio* [b], thus writeth, *Displicet tibi Athanasius, quòd traditionem beatorum Apostolorum custodiat; quòd se Christianum fateatur, quòd nolit esse coapostata tuus: Non mirandum, quandoquidem scriptum teneamus, Sanctus autem immundus est apud malos; vobis malignis displicet is, qui Deo placeat, tibi præsertim temerario ac superbo, qui temerarius hinc esse intelligeris ac superbus, quòd contra Dei ordinationem tetenderis manum, quòd Apostolicam traditionem putaveris destruendam: quòd Episcopos sub quorum te solicitudine agere oportuerat sub tuam ditionem censueris redigendos. Thou canst not brooke Athanasius, because he observes the tradition of the blessed Apostles, confesseth himselfe a Christian and will not be thy fellow-Apostate. Nor is it to be wondred at, since we know it is written, the just are by evill persons reputed vncleane; he that pleaseth God displeaseth you malignants, especially thy selfe a rash proud man, whose rashnes and pride appeare in this that thou hast stretched out thine hand against the ordinance of God, hast thought fit that an Apostolicall tradition should be destroied, and that* Bishops *vnder whose care thou oughtst to live, should be brought into subjection vnto thee.* This may be a fit lesson for the malignant Aerians of our time, for there was never more resisting against the ordinances of God, never more neglect and contempt of Apostolicall traditions, and never more oppugning,

[b] Pag. 54.

vilifying, and ſcorning of the reverend *Biſhops* of the Church, even to their very faces, then in theſe dayes of ours. Though ſome ſtaine be caſt upon this Author, yet this worke is truely Orthodox, of which Saint *Hierome* [a] maketh this report, *Cum [Lucifer Calaritanus] noſſet ſub nomine Athanaſii Nicænam damnare fiacm, in Paleſtinam relegatus, mirâ conſtantiâ & præparati animi ad martyrium contra Conſtantium Imperatorem ſcripſit librum, eiq; legendum miſit. When [Lucifer Calaritanus] would not in the name of Athanaſius condemne the Nicene Creed, he was baniſhed into Paleſtine, where he writ, and ſent unto him to be read, a book againſt the Emperor Conſtantius, of wonderfull conſtancy, and a mind reſolutely prepared for Martyrdome,*

[a] Hieron. de Script.

Liberius in Epiſt. ad Conſtantium [b], not onely mentioneth the three Orders of *Biſhops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, but alſo affirmeth the authority of *Biſhops* over *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, even as farre as expulſion, where he thus writeth. *Manent literæ Alexandri Epiſcopi olim ad Sylveſtrum ſanctæ memoriæ deſtinatæ, quibus ſignificat ante ordinationem Athanaſii undecim tàm Presbyteros, quàm etiam Diaconos, quòd Arii hæreſim ſequerentur ſe Eccleſiâ ejeciſſe. The letters of* Alexander *the Biſhop long ſince directed to* Silveſter *of bleſſed memory are yet extant, wherein he ſignifies, that before the ordination of* Athanaſius *he had caſt out of the Church eleven, as well Presbyters as Deacons, becauſe they were Arrians.* A worthy action of a good *Biſhop*

[b] Vitra medium.

ſhop for the ſuppreſſing of hereſy and ſchiſme. And if our *Biſhops* of *England* had in due time imitated this good example, in ſtopping the mouthes of hereticall and ſchiſmaticall teachers, the Church of *England* would not have beene ſo rent and torne in peeces, as at this preſent, tending to the introduceing of Atheiſme and Infidelity.

Hilarius Pictavorum Epiſcopus, doth demonſtrate the three diſtinct Orders of *Biſhops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*. *Scyrus* [a] (ſaith he) *de Diacono Epiſcopus adſcritur ordinatus, vt de contumelia in Preſbytero perpeſſâ, mentientis Epiſcopi major authoritas ſit.* where it may be obſerued, that notwithſtanding the ordination of this Biſhop was illegall, and purpoſely to ſupport ſchiſme, yet theſe ſchiſmatiques were ſo cautelous as to give him the authority of a *Biſhop*, though it were vnduely conferr'd on him, and alſo to an ill end: And vpon this text, [b] *who is a faithfull and wiſe ſervant, whom his Lord hath made ruler over his houſhold &c. Mat.* 24. [c] He applyeth this rule to *Biſhops*, as Princes, and cheife amongthe people. *Quanquàm in commune nos ad indefeſſam vigilantiæ curam adhortetur ſpecialem tamen populi principibus, i.e. Epiſcopis, in expectatione adventuque ſolicitudinem mandat. Although he exhorteth all in generall to an indefatigable care and vigilancy, yet he exacts a more ſpeciall care from the Rulers of the people, i.e. the Biſhops.*

Optatus Milevitanus, treating of the Church, ſetteth

a Hilar. fragm. Col. 409. Ude Athan. Apolog. 2. prope finem. & Theodor. Eccleſiaſt. Hiſtor. lib. 2. cap. 8.

b Comm. in Mat. Can. 27.

c Matt. 24 45.

setteth forth the three Orders of *Bishops, Presbyters*, and *Deacons*[d]; *Certa membra sua* (saith he) *habet Ecclesia, Episcopos, Presbyteros, Diaconos, Ministros, & turbam fidelium. Dicite cui generi hominum in ecclesia nostra hoc possit adscribi quod objicere voluisti? Specialiter nomina aliquem ministrum, ostende aliquem Diaconum nomine suo, indica hoc ab aliquo factum esse Presbytero, proba hoc Episcopos admisisse? The Church hath its certaine members, Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, ministers, and the common company of the faithfull. Tell me to what kind of men in our Church may this be ascribed which thou wouldest object? Name in particular any minister, or Deacon, shew me that this was done by any Presbyter, prove that any Bishop did it?* He[e] also giveth a cleare testimony of the superiority of Bishops, over Presbyters, and Deacons, where he saith, that Bishops are *apices et principes omnium, the heads & cheife of all*. that Presbyters *in secundo sacerdotio sunt constituti, are placed in the second degree of Preisthood*, and Deacons *in tertio, in the third.*

Ephræm Syrus, giveth like evidence for the superiority of Bishops, where he also acknowledgeth the three severall Orders of Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons[f]. *Tunc interrogabuntur pastores, Episcopi scilicèt, & Principes, de proprio statu, & de grege ipsorum: requirentúrque ab vnoquóque oves rationales, quas a summo pastore Christo pascendas susceperint. Quod si ex negligentia ipsius Episcopi, vel Principis, ovem deperdi contigerit, de manu*

d Lib. 2. *Ante medium.*

e Lib. 1. *Ante medium.*

f Tract. de Abrenunciatis in sacro Baptismate, Tom. 1. pag. 200.

nu ipſorum requiretur ſanguis ejus, ſimiliter quóque Presbyteri rationem reddent pro Eccleſia ſibi reddita populo. Præterea Diaconi & cuncti fideles, pro animabus quæ in illorum ſunt familiis, pro uxore & filiis, pro ſervis & ancillis daturi ſunt rationem. Then ſhall the Paſtors, viz. the *Biſhops* and Princes, be examined of the ſtate of themſelves and their flocke, and from each of them, ſhall be required thoſe rationall ſheepe, which by the cheife Shepheard Chriſt they were appointed to feed, And if any ſheepe ſhall happen to be loſt by the negligence of the *Biſhop* or cheife *Ruler*, his bloud ſhall be required at their hands: The *Presbyters* alſo muſt give an accompt for the people committed to their charge. Moreover the *Deacons* and all the faithfull muſt give an accompt for the ſoules of thoſe of their families, for wife and children, for man-ſervants and maid-ſervants.

Gregorius Nazianzen [a] ſaith, that *Epiſcopus eccleſiæ lucerna eſt.* The *Biſhop* is the light of the Church. The ſame *Gregorius* in his funerall Oration *in laudem S. Baſilii*, intimateth the ſuperiority of Biſhops, where he ſaith, that *S. Baſil* was advanced *ad excelſam Epiſcopatûs ſedem.* To the *high* eſtate of *Epiſcopall* government. And in his *Monodia in vitam S. Baſilii* [b], he reporteth thus of *S. Baſil*: *Baſilium ſub Juliano principe poſt Valentis mortem Epiſcopum fuit, ubi regimen & adminiſtrationem Eccleſiæ Cæſarienſis ſub Euſebio præſule accepit, diſcordias omnes ſedavit, ſimultates abſtulit, mores*

[a] Epiſt. 22. Paſſim ante medium.

[b] Apud Baſilium ante medium.

mores conſtituit &c. Baſil was *Biſhop* under *Julian* the Emperour after the death of *Valens*, where he undertooke the rule and government of the Church of *Ceſaria* under *Euſebius* the *Prelate*, appeaſed all diſcords, removed all grudges, eſtabliſhed good orders &c.

[c] *Ante medium.*

Damaſus, in his Epiſtle *de Chorepiſcopis* [c], affirmeth *Biſhops* to be the ſame as the chiefe Prieſts under the Law prefigured by *Moſes* and *Aaron*: And that *Preſbyters* with us are in imitation of the ſeventy Diſciples, and were typified or ſhadowed by the minor Prieſts the ſonnes of *Aaron*, He thus writeth: *Nulli dubiũ eſt, quòd Moſes & Aaron ſoli præcipiente Domino in tabernaculo Dei erigebant altare, ſoli ungebant, ſoli ſacerdotes ſacrâ unctione inſtituebant, & alia quæ ad ſummum ſacerdotium pertinebant, de quibus ſufficienter in divinis legitur literis, agebant, quoniam ſummi ſacerdotes erant, ſicut de eis ſcriptum eſt: Moſes et Aaron in ſacerdotibus ejus: Sic et modo, quia umbra Legis tranſit, et lux Evangelii in nos Dei gratia manifeſtè coruſcat, de his quæ in ſummis ſacerdotibus, id eſt, Epiſcopis, quorum figuram Moſes & Aaron tenuerunt, illi qui ſeptuaginta diſcipulorum formam geſtant, in quorum videlicet typo filii Aaron erant, nihil præſumere debent, ſicut nec illi quicquã de ſummi ſacerdotii miniſterio attingebant.* without all doubt *Moſes* and *Aaron* onely did by Gods command erect an altar, they alone anointed, they alone by ſacred unction Ordained Prieſts, and performed ſuch other functions as belonged unto the high Prieſthood

Preisthood, (for which we have sufficient proofe in holy writt) becauſe they were the cheife Preists, as it is written of them, *Moſes and Aaron among his Preiſts.* So likewiſe now becauſe the ſhadow of the law is vaniſhed, and the light of the Goſpell by the grace of God manifeſtly ſhines upon us, they who now reſemble the ſeventy diſciples, and who were typified by the ſonnes of *Aaron*, ought not to attempt any thing which belongs unto the Chiefe Preiſts, i e. the *Biſhops*, prefigured by *Moſes* and *Aaron*, no more then the ſons of *Aaron* meddled with that which concern'd the office of the high Preiſt.

Epiphanius ſaith, that *Alexandria* was an *Archbiſhopricke*, and that one *Peter* was *Archbiſhop* thereof[a]: ——*ac Petro Alexandriæ Archiepiſcopo. Videbatur autem & Meletius præeminere inter Epiſcopos Ægypti, ut qui ſecundum locum habebat poſt Petrum in Archiepiſcopatu.*——*and Peter being Archbiſhop* of *Alexandria. Meletius* was moſt eminent amongſt the *Biſhops* of Ægypt as he that was the next *Archbiſhop* unto *Peter*. He alſo nameth the Countries which were within the Province of the *Archbiſhoprick* of *Alexandria*[a]. *Hic enim mos obtinet* (ſaith he) *ut Alexandriæ Epiſcopus, totius Ægypti, ac Thebaidis, Mareotæque ac Libyæ, Ammoniacaque & Marcotidis, ac Pentapolis, eccleſiaſticam habeat adminiſtrationem.* For by ancient cuſtome, the *Archbiſhop* of *Alexandria* hath the eccleſiaſticall government of all Ægypt

a *Contra Sectam Meletianorum. Har.* 68.

b *Ibidem.*

gypt and *Thebais*, *Mareota*, and *Ammoniata*, *Mareotis*, and *Pentapolis*. And writing against that old Hereticke *Aerius*, he is wondrous perspicuous and giveth abundant satisfaction, strongly mainteining it to be altogether unpossible that a Bishop and Presbyter should be equall[c]. *Dicere* (saith he) *ipsum Episcopum & Presbyterum aequalem esse, quomodo erit possibile? Episcoporum enim ordo, patrum generator est, patres enim generat Ecclesiae; Presbyterorum verò non potens generare patres, per lavacri regenerationem generat filios Ecclesiae, non tamen patres aut doctores.* How is it possible any man should say, that a *Bishop* and *Presbyter* are equall? For the order of *Bishops* is a begetter of fathers, for it begets fathers to the Church, but the Order of *Presbyters* cannot beget *fathers*, it doth indeed by the laver of regeneration, beget sons to the Church, but yet neither fathers nor doctors. And a little after upon those words of *S. Paul*[d], *Rebuke not an Elder &c. Quid negotii Episcopo ut Presbyterum non objurgaret, si non super Presbyterum potestatem haberet? Quemadmodùm enim rursus dicit, Adversus Presbyterum ne citò admiseris accusationem, nisi coram duobus, aut tribus testibus. Et non dixit ad aliquem Presbyterum ne admiseris accusationem contra Episcopum, neq; scripsit ad aliquem Presbyterum, ut ne Episcopum objurgaret.* what had a *Bishop* to doe to rebuke a *Presbyter*, if he had no power over a *Presbyter*? As he elsewhere saith, do not quickly receive an accusation against a *Presbyter*, but before two or three

[c] *Contra Aerium Haeres. 75.*

[d] *1 Tim. 5. 1.*

three witwiſſes. And he ſaid not to any *Presbyter*, receive not an accuſation againſt a *Biſhop*, nor doth he write to any *Presbyter*, that he ſhould not rebuke a *Biſhop*. This and much more did this learned Father write againſt that old Hereticke *Aerius*, who (much like to our Noveliſts) endeavoured to maintaine a parity among the Clergy. But albeit *Epiphanius* hath beene famous in the Church for the ſpace of thirteene hundred yeares, for his learned worke againſt Hereſies; were he now alive, he himſelfe ſhould be called Hereticke to his face, our *Aerians* would take upon them to informe him of a new ſpirit lately come into the world, which will correct not onely all the ancient and approved Fathers, and generall Councills, but the Apoſtles Creede alſo, yea our bleſſed Saviour himſelfe: For whereas he ſaith, *So therefore pray ye*[a]: and, *when ye pray, ſay, Our Father* [b] *&c.* Many of theſe Monſters contradicting what our Saviour hath enjoyned, are not aſhamed to teach the ſimple when they pray, not to ſay *Our Father &c.* moſt impudently croſſing and gainſaying Chriſt himſelf, and peremptorily and heretically affirming, that we ought not to uſe that ſacred prayer at any tyme eyther in publique or private; This, and ſuch like diabolicall doctrines are newly ſtarted up, to which the unſtable and unlearned give more credit then to their Creed: Thus under a new forme of pretended godlines they lead captive ſilly people, the rather, now

a Matt. 6. 9. Οὕτως οὖν προσεύχεσθε ὑμεῖς.
b Luc. 11. 2. Ὅταν προσεύχησθε, λέγετε.

ſo many rebellious and irreligious tongues in Pulpits, and ſuch a multitude of ſchiſmaticall and hereticall Pamphlets at the preſſe, like Locuſts which came out of the *ſmoake, that aroſe out of the bottomleſſe pit* [a], are permitted, if not countenanced. But this ancient Hereticke *Aërius* will not be dead, ſo long as our blind Zealots are alive; For as in the dayes of *Epiphanius* [b], ſo at this day, *Fugiunt ipſi cum ſuis, ab Eccleſiis, & agris, ac vicis, & aliis Civitatibus, ſæpe verò cum multa ſuâ turbâ vigilantes, ac ſobrii in agris degunt, ſub dióque & ſub petrâ pernoctant, & ad ſylvas confugiunt.* Theſe with them of their owne ſect, fly from the Churches, from the Townes and Cities; they alſo often watching with the numerous rout of their followers, lodge in the feilds, and by night reſt in the open aire, and amongſt the rocks. This was the manner of the *Aërians* in the dayes of *Epiphanius*, and the ſame do the *Aërians* in our dayes: we may hereby ſee and obſerve what vertue there is in an old Hereſy when it is newly raked up.

S. Ambroſe [c] demonſtrateth an expreſſe difference betweene a Biſhop and a Preſbyter; *Aliud eſt* (ſaith he) *quod ab Epiſcopo requirit Deus, & aliud quod a Presbytero, & aliud quod a Diacono &c.* God requires one thing of a *Biſhop*, another of a *Presbyter*, and another of a *Deacon*. He [d] alſo ſaith, that *Epiſcopus eſt lux Eccleſiæ, & ita a Domino ordinatus.* The *Biſhop* is the light of the Church, and is ordained ſo to be of God And interpre-

ing

a Revel. 9. 2. 3.

b Epiphan ubi ſupra.

c Lib. de dignitate Sacerdotali cap. 3.

d ibidem cap 6.

ing the word *Episcopus* Bishop to be *Superinspector*, he concludeth, *Maximè cum solio in Ecclesia editiore resideat.* Especially in that he sitteth in a more eminent seat in the Church. He also giveth further evidence [e], *Hæc vera cuncta fratres, ideò nos præmisisse debetis cognoscere, ut ostenderemus nihil esse in hoc sæculo excellentius sacerdotibus, nihil sublimius Episcopis reperiri.* You (brethren) ought to understand, that we have therefore premised all these thinges to be true, to the end we might let you know that nothing in this world is more excellent then the Preists, and nothing to be preferr'd before the *Bishop*. The same Author (or whoever els was the Author of the Commentaries upon S. *Pauls* Epistles under his name) giveth further evidence in these words: [f] *In Episcopo omnium ordinationum dignitas est, caput est enim cæterorum membrorum.* The *Bishop* hath the preheminence of all those that are ordain'd, for he is the *head or cheife* of all. [g] Again *Episcopus primus est, ut omnis Episcopus Presbyter sit, non omnis Presbyter Episcopus.* The *Bishop* is the *Cheife*, every *Bishop* being a *Presbyter*, but not every *Presbyter* a *Bishop*.

[e] de dignitate Sacerdotali, ca. 3. initio.

[f] In 1. Cor. 12. 17.

[g] in 1. Timo. 3.

Saint *Hierome* hath given sufficient evidence already, but because this ancient Father hath beene so often called to witnesse against Episcopall government, I shall desire to instance further testimonies out of him, which being well considered, will clearely convince our new Doctors of most impudent falshood, by whom many of the unlearned (though well affected) have in these

these last and perillous times been miserably deluded, and led into schisme and heresy. This learned Father doth in many of his writings expresse himselfe at large, and often taketh occasion to touch upon this Controversy. He maketh an evident and undeniable difference betweene a *Bishop* and a *Presbyter*, attributing more to the *Bishop* then to the *Presbyter*, and more to the *Presbyter*, then to the *Deacon*, and requireth honour to be given to the *Bishop*[a]. *Nolite credere* (saith he) *in ducibus, non in Episcopo, non in Presbytero, non in Diacono, non in qualibet hominum dignitate: Nec hoc dico, quòd istiusmodi gradibus in Ecclesia non debeatis esse subjecti; Quicunque enim maledixerint patri, aut matri, morte morietur, & Apostolus docet præpositis in Ecclesia obediendum: sed quòd aliud sit honorare duces, aliud spem habere in ducibus. Honoremus Episcopum, Presbytero deferamus, assurgamus Diacono, & tamen non speremus in eis &c.* Do not trust in your Leaders, not in your *Bishop*, *Presbyter*, or *Deacon*, nor any other ranke of men, nor say I this, as if you ought not to be subject to such degrees in the Church; For he that curseth his father or mother shall dy the death, and the Apostle instructs us to obey those that are set over us in the Church: but that it is one thing to honour our leaders, another to trust in them. Let us honour the *Bishop*, respect the *Presbyter*, give place to the *Deacon*, but yet let us not put our trust in them. And elsewhere[b] he affirmeth *Bishops* to supply the roome of the Apostles, *Apud nos Apostolorum*

a *Hieron. in Matt. 7.*

b *Epist. ad Marcellam ad versus Montanum.*

lorum locum tenent Epiſcopi. And having expounded [a] *Epiſcopus* to be a ſuperintendent, he ſaith, the Biſhop was ſet over the Presbyters for prevention of ſchiſme, and leſt that (every one following his owne harebrain'd humour) the Church of Chriſt ſhould be torne in pieces: Heare his owne words: *Quòd autem poſtea vnus electus eſt qui cæteris præponeretur, in ſchiſmatis remedium factum eſt, ne vnuſquiſq; ad ſe trahens Chriſti Eccleſiam rumperet.* and in concluſion of the ſame Epiſtle he affirmeth *Epiſcopacy* to be grounded upon the authority of the old Teſtament. *Et vt ſciamus traditiones Apoſtolicas ſumptas de veteri Teſtamento, quod Aaron & filii ejus fuerint, hoc ſibi Epiſcopi, & Presbyteri, & Diaconi vendicent in Eccleſia.* And that we may know that the Traditions of the Apoſtles were derived from the old Teſtament, what *Aaron* and his ſons and the Levites were in the Temple, the ſame may the *Biſhops*, and *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, challenge as due to them in the Church. And to the ſame purpoſe elſewhere ſaith [b]; *Quod Aaron & filios ejus, hoc eſſe Epiſcopum, & Presbyteros noverimus*, Let us know that the *Biſhop* and *Presbyters* are, what *Aaron* and his ſons were. And in his Dialogue againſt the *Luciferians* [c] comparing the Church by way of ſimilitude to *Noah's* Arke, thus he ſaith of it, *A triginta cubitis incipiens, & vſq; ad vnum cubitum paulatim decreſcens, arca conſtruitur, ſimiliter & Eccleſia multis gradibus conſiſtens, ad extremum Diaconis, Presbyteris, Epiſcopiſque finitur.* The Arke beginning from thirty cubits, in an arched roofe

[a] *Epiſt. ad Evagrium ante medium.*

[b] *Epiſt. ad Nepotianum ultra medium.*

[c] *Prope finem.*

roofe, it grew by degrees to a cubit onely; In like sort the Church consisting of many degrees, is at last compleated in the distinct orders of *Bishops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*. He also most emphatically presseth the necessity of Episcopall government, and elegantly illustrateh his assertion with sundry comparisons[a]. *Nulla ars* (saith he) *alsq; magistro discitur, etiam muta animalia, & ferarum greges ductores sequuntur suos; in apibus principes sunt, grues unam sequuntur ordine literato, Imperator unus, Iudex unus provinciæ, Roma ut condita est, duos fratres simul Reges habere non potuit, & patricidio dedicatur. In Rebeccæ utero Esau & Iacob bella gesserunt; singuli ecclesiarum Episcopi, singuli Archiepiscopi[b], singuli Archidiaconi[c], & omnis ordo ecclesiasticus suis Rectoribus nititur. In navi unus gubernator, in domo unus Dominus, in quoq; grandi exercitu unius signum expectatur.* No art is learned without a Master, yea the dumbe creatures, and the heards of wilde beasts follow their Leaders; there are Kings among the Bees, the Cranes all follow one in an exact Order, there is onely one Emperour, one Judge in a Province: *Rome* newly built could not enjoy two Kings at once. All Churches have their *Bishop*, *Archbishop*, and *Archdeacon*; and the whole order of Eccleſiafticall persons depends upon their Governours. There is one Master in a ship, one Lord in a house, one Generall in an Army. And is it not beyond admiration, that men the onely rationall creatures should admit of one head or principall governour †in all politique estates

[a] *Epist ad Rusticum Monachum.*

[b] Archiepiscopus.

[c] Archidiaconus.

† *fateor quidem, ut sunt hominum ingenia & mores, non posse ordinem stare inter pares ministros, quin reliquis præsit unus.* Calvin in Phil. 1, 1.

eſtates, and yet ſhould expoſe the Church to a parity of Miniſters, as if ſhe alone were moſt of all to be neglected, moſt of all to be diſreſpected, and ſo become like unto a body without an head. But if we will know into what eſtate the Church muſt be brought, if Epiſcopall power be taken away, Saint *Hierome* will reſolve us [d], where hee ſaith, *Eccleſiæ ſalus in ſummi ſacerdotis dignitate pendet, cui ſi non exors quædam & ab omnibus eminens detur poteſtas, tot in Eccleſiis efficientur ſchiſmata, quot Sacerdotes.* The welfare of the Church conſiſteth in the dignity of the *Biſhop*; unto whom if an eminent and excellent power be not aſcribed, there will be as many ſchiſmes in the Church, as there are *Preiſts*. But our Ephemerian Doctors, in flat oppoſition to Saint *Hierome*, and alſo of the whole Church, would needs perſwade thoſe that are ſo madde as to beleeve them, that unleſſe there be a parity of Miniſters in the Church, ſhe is Popiſh and Antichriſtian: The trueth of theſe two contradictory poſitions will ſufficiently appeare, if we do but take view of the uncontrollable growth of ſchiſme and hereſy, moſt inſolently daring & as impudently outfacing all authority, which hath been unmaſked & diſcovered to the world, ſince that audacious, & moſt horrid contempt of that antient & Apoſtolicall inſtitution of *Epiſcopacy*, hath of late takē ſuch deep root in this kingdom.

Ruffinus Presbyter Aquileiensis, [a] affirmeth *Biſhops* to be in ſteed of the Apoſtles. *Genuerunt te Apoſtoli*

[d] Dialog. *contra Luciferianum, ante medium.*

[a] in Pſal. 45. ver. 16.

Apoſtoli, ipſi miſſi ſunt, ipſi prædicaverunt, ipſi ſunt patres, ipſi ſunt recepti in gloria, & loco illorum nati ſunt filii, conſtituti ſunt Epiſcopi; non te ergo putes deſertam, quia non vides Paulum, quia non vides eos per quos nata es, de prole tuâ tibi crevit paternitas. The Apoſtles begat thee, they were ſent, they preached, they are thy fathers, they are received into glory, and inſtead of them thou haſt ſons, who are made *Biſhops*; do not therefore conceive thy ſelfe deſtitute, becauſe thou ſeeſt not *Paul* or thoſe by whom thou waſt created, thou haſt fathers of thine owne ofspring. The ſame ancient Author relateth a ſtory of one *Moyſes* who complaining of the perſecution of Chriſtians, by the inſtigation of one *Lucius* an Arian Biſhop [b], mentioneth the three Orders of *Biſhops*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons*, where this *Moyſes* refuſeing to receive Ordination by the hands of *Lucius*, though he were earneſtly ſollicited thereunto, returneth this anſwere; *Bene mihi nota eſt fides tua, quam proteſtantur ſervi Dei per metalla damnati, Epiſcopi in exilium truſi, Presbyteri, Diaconi, extra Chriſtiani nominis habitacula relegati, beſtiis alii, alii etiam ignibus traditi.* I well know what thy Religion is, which Gods ſervants condemn'd unto the mines, *Biſhops* baniſhed, *Presbyters* and *Deacons* expelled out of Chriſtendome, (ſome delivered over to wild beaſts, others to the fire) do proteſt againſt.

[b] Lib. 2. Hiſt. Eccleſiaſt. cap. 6.

Saint *Chryſoſtome* [c] obſerveth that Saint *Paul* committed to *Titus* the goverment of the whole Iland

[c] In Tit. 1. Homil. 1. *prope initium.*

Iland of *Crete*, and the rule of many *Bishops*. *Vnus ex Pauli sociis hic fuit vir probatus, neque enim profectò illi integram insulam permisisset, neque ea quæ deerant præcepisset implenda, & tam multorum Episcoporum judicium commisisset, nisi multum illi confideret.* He [*i.e. Titus*] was one of Saint Pauls companions, a man approved; nor certainely would he have allowed him the whole Iland, nor have commanded him to supply what was defective, nor have entrusted him to judge of so many *Bishops*, except he had very much confided in him. And upon these words, *If a man desire the office of a Bishop, he desireth a good worke*, [d] hee thus saith, *non culpo, non improbo, opus quippe regiminis est: si quis hunc idcirco appetit, non principatûs, ac dominationis fastu, verum curâ regiminis, & charitatis affectu, non improbo, bonum quippe desiderat opus.* I doe not blame, nor disallow of it; for why, tis a worke of Government: if any therefore desire this office, not out of ambition to be eminent and domineere; but out of care to Governe, and a charitable affection, I do not disallow of it, for he desires a good worke. And immediatly after, *Si quis ita desiderat, desiderat bene, Episcopatus enim ex eo dicitur, quòd omnes inspiciat, cunctaq; speculetur.* He also testifieth [a] that Saint *Iames* was the first *Bishop* of *Hierusalem*.

d In Epist. 1. ad Tim. cap. 3. ver. 1 Homil. 10.

a In 1 ad Corinth. cap. 15. Homil. 38. *post medium.*

Saint *Augustine* that famous and reverend Father expounding *Psal.* 45. *ver.* 16. saith that *Bishops* are in steed of the Apostles. *Quid est, pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii? patres missi sunt*

Apoſtoli, pro Apoſtolis filii nati ſunt tibi, conſtituti ſunt Epiſcopi. Hodie enim Epiſcopi qui ſunt per totum mundum, unde nati ſunt? ipſa eccleſia patres eos appellat, ipſa illos genuit, & ipſa illos conſtituit in ſedibus patrum; Non ergo te putes deſertam; quia non vides Petrum, quia non vides Paulum, quia non vides illos per quos nata es, de prole tua tibi crevit paternitas. What's this, in ſtead of thy fathers thou haſt Children? the Apoſtles were ſent unto thee as fathers, in ſtead of the Apoſtles thou haſt children borne unto thee, *Biſhops* are ordained. For the *Biſhops* that are now all the world over, whence were they borne? the Church calls them Fathers, yet ſhe her ſelfe begat them, and placed them in the Fathers roomes. Do not therefore fancy thy ſelfe forſaken, becauſe thou doſt not ſee *Peter* nor *Paul*, nor them by whom thou waſt created, thou haſt Fathers ſprung up to thee out of thine owne iſſue. The ſame learned Father *in Pſal.* 127. *ver.* 1. ſetteth forth the ſuperiority of the *Biſhop*. *Ideò altior locus poſitus eſt Epiſcopis, ut ipſi ſuperintendant, & tanquàm cuſtodiant populum; Nam & græcè quod dicitur Epiſcopus, hoc Latinè ſuperintentor interpretatur, quia ſuperintendit, quia de ſuper videt. Quomodo enim vinitori altior fit locus ad cuſtodiendam vineam, ſic et Epiſcopis altior locus factus eſt.* Therefore have the *Biſhops* a higher ſeate, that they may overſee, and as it were watch the people. For that which in Greeke is called *Epiſcopus*, in Latine is *Superintentor*, becauſe he ſuperintends, or overſees. As the vine-

dreſſer

dreſſer hath a higher place that he may keepe the vineyard, ſo is there an higher ſeate made for the *Biſhops*. And *in Epiſt* 166 [b]. he teſtifieth that *Conſtantine* the Emperour durſt not to make himſelfe Judge over a *Biſhop*: *Sed quia Conſtantinus* (ſaith he) *non eſt auſus de cauſâ Epiſcopi judicare, eam diſcutiendam atq; finiendam Epiſcopis delegavit.* But becauſe *Conſtantine* dared not to determine in the caſe of a *Biſhop*, he therefore delegated it to be diſcuſſed and decided by *Biſhops*. Alſo *in lib. de hæreſibus, cap. in Aerium*, he relateth what it was which made *Aerius* a hereticke. *Aeriani* (ſaith he) *ab Aerio quodam ſunt nominati, qui cum eſſet Presbyter, doluiſſe fertur quòd Epiſcopus non potuit ordinari.* The *Aerians* were ſo called from one *Aerius*, who being a *Presbyter* is related to have bin vexed that he could not be ordained a *Biſhop*. And a little after he telleth what the hereſy of Aerius was. *Dicebat etiam Presbyterum ab Epiſcopo nullâ differentiâ diſcerni.* He alſo ſaid, there was no difference betwixt a *Presbyter* and a *Biſhop*. We may ſee what it is to be diſappointed of a Biſhopricke, even enough to drive an Orthodox Divine into hereſy: Thus it was with *Aerius*; and ſo *Epiphanius* affirmeth, *Hær.* 75 [a]. where he thus ſaith of *Aerius*. *Quum autem veniſſet Euſtathius ad Epiſcopatum, ille* (id eſt *Aerius*) *magis concupiſcebat, ſed non pervenit ad ipſum, hinc oritur æmulatio.* When *Euſtathius* was advanced unto a Biſhopricke, he [*i.e. Aerius*] did much deſire it, but could not atcheive it; thence

b *Ante medium.*

a *Prope initium.*

arose his envy. And as pride and greedinesse of preferment did prevaile so farre with *Aerius*, as that he fell into heresy, thereby to make himselfe the more famous; in like manner *Novatus*, another grand hereticke (whose principall errour is zealously supported by a goodly brood of our Catharists) failing of a Bishopricke, fell into detestable heresy; as witnesseth *Cornelius apud Euseb lib. 6. Eccl. Hist. cap.* 33 [b]. saying that *Episcopatûs cupiditate quam intra se latenter gerebat, in hæc omnia mala decideris*. He fell into all these evills out of his earnest and greedy desire of a Bishopricke. This also was enough to prevaile with that smooth-tongued Arch-hereticke *Arius* to deny the divinity of our blessed Saviour: as the Tripartite History doth witnesse [c], in these words; *Arius in ordine Presbyterorum erat, & expositionem divinarum Scripturarum videbatur habere commissam: Videns autem Alexandrum pontificatûs gubernacula suscepisse, eventũ temporis non portavit, sed et mordacitate compulsus litis quærebat initium.* Arius was of the Order of *Presbyters*, and seemed to have the dispensation of Gods word committed to him; but seeing *Alexander* had got a Bishopricke, he could not brooke it, but compelled by his repining humour, he sought an occasion of quarrell. And what was the cause of *Cartwright's* discontent, which moved him so much to quarrell with our Church Discipline [a], but because he was not rewarded by Queene *Elizabeth*, for his Academicall disputation at *Cambridge* correspondent

b Or according to an ancient M. S. copy cap. 35.

c Lib. 1. cap. 12.

a Sir *George Paul* in the life of the Lord. Archbi. shop Whitgift. pag. 7.

ſpondent to his expectation? And there is little doubt, but that many of our great Clerkes are ſo fierce againſt Epiſcopacy, becauſe their mouthes are not ſtop't with a Biſhopricke, or ſome other Church preferment.

Sulpitius Severus lib. 2. Sacræ Hiſt[b]. *witneſſeth that* Saint *Peter* was *Biſhop* of *Rome. Eo tempore* (ſaith he) *divina apud urbem religio invaluerat, Petro ibi Epiſcopatum gerente*. At that time true religion flouriſhed in the City. *Peter* being Biſhop there. And the ſame Author *Dialog*; 4[c]. ſaith that Saint *Hierome* was *Presbyter* of *Bethlehem* in the Dioceſſe of *Hieruſalem*, ſixe miles diſtant: *Bethleem oppidum petii, quod ab Hieroſolymis ſex millibus diſparatur; ab Alexandria autem ſedecim manſionibus abeſt. Eccleſiam loci illius Hieronimus Presbyter regit: Nam parochia eſt Epiſcopi, qui Hieroſolymam tenet.* I went unto *Bethlehem*, which is ſixe miles diſtant from *Hieruſalem*, and ſixteene manſions from *Alexandria*, *Hierome* the Presbyter is Rector of the Church there, being a village in the Dioceſſe of the Biſhop of *Hieruſalem*. By which it is manifeſt, that there was a Dioceſan *Biſhop* of *Hieruſalem*, to which Saint *Hierome* yeelded obedience.

Cyrill Archbiſhop of *Alexandria*[d], expreſſeth a manifeſt imparity betweene a *Biſhop* and *Presbyter*, where he ſaith: *Epiſcopis, utpote qui duces creati ſunt, nec non etiam iis, qui inferioris dignitatis gradum gerunt, Presbyteris inquam, concreditum eſt altare, & quæ intra velum continentur*. The Altar and

[b] *Circa medium pag.* 145.

[c] *Pag.* 249.

[d] *Lib.* 13. *de adoratione, ſpiritu, & veritate. Tract.* 3. *de ſacerdotio propemodum.*

and all within the veile is entrusted to the *Bishops* as they that were instituted Leaders, and to them also of inferiour degree, I meane the *Presbyters.*

Theodoret [a] mentioneth the three distinct Orders of *Bishop*, *Presbyter*, and *Deacon*, where he ascribeth dignity to the *Bishop*, as to the superiour, and having affirmed (as *in* 1. *Philip.* he had formerly done) that *Olim idem fuit Presbyter, qui Episcopus*: Of old the same man was called both *Bishop* and *Presbyter*, he thus concludeth: *Sed tamen etiamsi Presbyteris has leges constituit divinus Apostolus, clarum est quòd oportet primos servare Episcopos, ut qui sint majorem dignitatem assecuti.* Although the Divine Apostle prescribed these lawes unto the *Presbyters*, yet tis manifest that the *Bishops* ought to observe the same, as they that have attained to greater dignity. The same Author speaking in the praise of one *Jacobus Bishop* of *Nisibis* giveth him these honourable titles and commendation [b]. *In hac* [*Nisibi*] *Episcopus simul atq; princeps civitatis, ac dux erat Jacobus,* ——*hic renidebat radiis Apostolicæ gratiæ.* In this City of *Nisibis James* was both Bishop and Governour. ——he shined with the raies of Apostolic all grace. Also he reciteth an Epistle of certaine *Bishops* who make expresse mention of a Dioceese [c]. *Episcopi Illirici ecclesiis Dei et Episcopis Diœceseos Asiana, Phrygiæ, Cataphrygiæ, Pacatianæ, salutem in Domino. &c.* The Bishops of *Illiricum* to the Churches of God, and Bishops of the Dioceese of *Asia*, *Phrygia*, *Cataphrygia*, *Pacatiana*, Greeting &c.

[a] In 1 Tim. cap. 3. ver. 1.

[b] Eccles. Hist. lib. 2 cap. 30.

[c] Eccles. Hist. lib. 4. cap. 9.

Eucherius

Eucherius Lugdunenſis [a] likewiſe remembreth the three diſtinct Orders of *Biſhop*, *Presbyter*, and *Deacon*, and expoundeth them in this manner; *Epiſcopus ſuperinſpector, & ideò Propheta ait, Speculatorem te poſui domûs Iſraell: Presbyter, Senior, Diaconus, Miniſter.* The *Biſhop* is the cheife Overſeer, and therefore the Prophet ſaith, I have made thee a watchman of the houſe of Iſraell: the *Presbyter* is an Elder, the *Deacon* a Miniſter.

[a] *In interpretatione nominum Graecorum.*

Sidonius Apollinaris in a ſermon [b] more then once maketh mention of a *Metropolitan*: and in an Epiſtle [c] ſaith, that *Biſhops* are thoſe *Per quos minorum ordinum miniſteria ſubrogantur*: Who depute inferiour Miniſtries: Which words doe manifeſtly import an apparent imparity, and that there are *Minores ordines* in the Clergy, and then deſcending to lay open the miſeries that Dioceſſes and Pariſhes would undergoe, if they ſhould be ſpoiled of their *Biſhops*, he ſaith, *Populos exceſſu pontificum orbatos, triſtis interciſa fidei deſperatio premit, nulla in deſolatis cura diœceſibus parochiiſq;. Videas in Eccleſiis aut patres culminum lapſus, aut valvarum cardinibus avulſis, baſilicarum aditus hiſpidorum veprium fructicibus obſtructos. Ipſa (proh dolor!) videas armẽta, non modò ſemipatentibus jacere veſtibulis. ſed etiam herboſa viridantium altarium latera depaſci. Sed jam nec per ruſticas ſolùm ſolitudo parochias, ipſa inſuper urbanarum Eccleſiarum conventicula rareſcunt. Quid enim fidelibus ſolatii ſupereſt, quando clericalis non modo diſciplina, verùm etiam memoria perit? Equidem cum clericus*

[b] Lib. 7. Epiſt. 9.

[c] Lib. 7. Epiſt. 6.

quisque defungitur, si benedictione succiduâ non accipiat dignitatis hæredem, in illa Ecclesia sacerdotium moritur, non sacerdos. Atq; ita quid spei restare pronuncies, ubi facit terminus hominis finem religionis? Altiùs inspicite spiritualium membrorum damna: profectò intelligetis quanti subripiuntur Episcopi, tantorum vobis populorum fidem periclitaturam. The people thus left destitute by the death of their *Bishops*, their hope of religion lyeth a bleeding, there being none to take care of the desolate Dioceſſes and parishes: There might you see the lofty spires of Churches mouldred to the ground, the doores throwne off the hinges, the Porches Fill'd up with Bryars and Brambles: There, oh the pitty! might you behold whole herds of cattle feeding by the very side of the Altar, and not an hatch left to keepe out, no Assembly for Divine service now to be kenn'd in Countrey or City. As indeed what shadow of comfort can the godly expect, when Ecclesiasticall discipline is gone, and the very memory thereof perished? If after the death of one, another be not ordained to succeed, not the Priest alone, but the Priesthood it selfe is extinct, and what is to be hoped, when religion hangs upon the single thread of a mans life? Take but a strict view of the Christians state, and ye cannot but find that upon Bishops rooting out, the Christian faith will be put in jeopardy. And I would to God we had not cause to complaine of the horrid and barbarous attempts of divers among us, (Christians I can scarce call them) against some

some of our mother Churches †, who as if they had studied how to affront the Almighty to his face, and purposely (as *Manasses* to anger him) have not spared to prophane those godly structures, and most irreligiously and Antichristianlike to deface the instruments there prepared and imployed in the service of the great God. At the very thought whereof I tremble and stand amazed, and can hardly beleive the Christian world in any age can parallel it with an example of like abominable & Atheisticall villanies, yet to this day uncensured. *Monstrum horrendum informe ingens &c.*. as the Poët. If our Saviour in his Zeale drave the buyers and sellers out of the Temple, as making the house of prayer a den of theeves; what may we thinke he would do to those seemingly great sticklers for reformation, who Heathen like do debase and demolish those holy places, and in flat defiance of God and his worship, turne prayer and divine service out of doores? But these are the fruites of contempt of Episcopall government, even rebellion against God and his sacred Ordinances. I will not say it is lawfull to bring any rayling Accusation against them, but wee have just cause to afford them the same language as the Archangell did the devil [a] *The Lord rebuke them.* They may also be compared to such of whom the Prophet *David* complaines [b] *They grin like a dog and run about through the City. Behold, they speak with their*

† Canterbury. Worcester. Winchester. Chichester. and many others.

[a] Jude. 9.

[b] Psal. 59. 6.

mouth, and swords are in their lips, but thou, O Lord, shalt have them in derision. Destroy thou them, O God, let them perish through their owne imaginations: cast them out in the multitude of their ungodlinesse, for they have rebelled against thee[c]. And be not mercifull unto them that offend of malicious wickednesse. Psalm. 59.5.

c Psal. 5.11.

Isidorus Pelusiota affirmeth Episcopacy to be jure divino[d], who saith, *Episcopatûs nomen, & res ipsa divinum quiddam sit, atq; omni alio munere, ac dignitate præstantius.* Let the name of Episcopacy, and thing it selfe be divine, and more excellent then any other function or dignity.

d lib. 2. Epist. 125.

Leo[e] maketh expresse mention of a Dioceſſe. *Quod nunc in sua Diœcesi Restitutus Episcopus factum esse causatus est, &c.* Which Restitutus the Bishop blamed, that it was done in his Dioceſſe. Where he also saith that *Bishops* do beare the figure of *Moses* and *Aaron*: and *Presbyters* of the sonnes of *Aaron*: and therefore *Presbyters* ought not to assume that which appertaineth to their superiours the *Bishops*: his words are, *In divinis literis præcipiente Domino solus Moyses in tabernaculo Dei erexit altare, solus ipse unxit; qui utique summus Sacerdos Dei erat, sicut scriptum est de eo: Moyses & Aaron in Sacerdotibus ejus: Ideoque id quod tantum facere principibus Sacerdotum visum est, quorum typum Moyses & Aaron tenuerunt; omninò decretum est, ut * Corepiscopi vel Presbyteri qui filiorum Aaron gestant figuram, arripere non præsumant.* Moyses alone by Gods command in the holy

e Epist. 68.

* In some Copies corruptly written Coepiscopi.

holy Scriptures, erected an Altar in the Lords Tabernacle, he alone anointed; as being the high-Preiſt of the Lord, as it is written of him, *Moyſes* and *Aaron* amongſt his Preiſts: Therefore it was decreed that the Rurall Biſhops or Presbyters which reſemble the ſons of Aaron, ſhould by no meanes preſume to meddle with that which is appointed to be done by the high Preiſts only, typified by *Moyſes* and *Aaron*. And a little after he ſaith that *Presbyters* were ordained after the example and patterne of the ſeventy Diſciples, whoſe figure or likeneſſe they beare. *Hac omnia illicita ſunt Chorepiſcopis, qui ad exemplum & formam ſeptuaginta Diſcipulorum eſſe noſcuntur, vel Presbyteris, qui eandem geſtant figuram.* All theſe are unlawfull to be done by Rurall Biſhops, or Presbyters, both of whom reſemble the ſeventy Diſciples. Alſo in the ſame Epiſtle he deſignes the *Presbyters* to the Cure of the leſſer and particular Congregations, reſerving unto *Biſhops* the ſpeciall Superintendency over publique Townes and Cities. *Ubi minores ſunt plebes, minoreſque conventus, Presbyterorum cura ſufficiat, Epiſcopalia autem gubernacula non niſi majoribus populis, & frequentioribus Civitatibus oporteat præſidere.* And *in Epiſt.* 54. he maketh expreſſe mention of a *Metropolitan Biſhop*.

Primaſius having affirmed *Timothy* to be ordained a *Biſhop* by the impoſition of S. *Pauls* hands, deſcendeth to the expoſition of that place of S. *Paul* to *Timothy*: *Againſt an Elder receive not*

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an accusation, but before two or three witnesses[a]. Upon which text according to the exposition of *Epiphanius* before alleaged, by Elder he intendeth a *Presbyter*, and not one that is such by age. *Iujustum est adversus quemvis absentem accusationem recipere: cum hoc nec secularia judicia faciant, quantò magis de Domini Sacerdote? It is unjust to admit an accusation against any man that is absent; And when secular Iudges allow not this, how much rather should it not be done against a Preist of the Lord?*

Iustinianus Imperator[b] maketh often mention of *Archbishops, Patriarches, and all other Ecclesiasticall Orders*, where we also many times find the three distinct Orders of *Bishops, Presbyters*, and *Deacons*; I will instance one for all. Ἀπαγορεύομεν καὶ τοῖς ὁσιωτάτοις ἐπισκόποις, καὶ πρεσβυτέροις, καὶ διακόνοις, καὶ ὑποδιακόνοις, καὶ ἀναγνώσταις, καὶ παντὶ ἄλλῳ ὁιουδήποτε εὐαγοῦς τάγματος ἢ χήματος καθεστῶτι ταβλίζειν, ἢ τῶν τοιαῦτα παιζόντων κοινωνοὺς, ἢ θεωροὺς γίνεσθαι, ἢ εἰς οἱ ἀνδήποτε θεαυτοῦ θεωρῆσαι χάριν παραγίνεσθαι. We forbid the most holy *Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, Subdeacons*, and *Readers*, and all others whatsoever that have taken upon them any Order, or Office in the Ministery, that they neither play at Tables, nor be spectators of such games, nor yet that they associate themselves with such as frequently use such sort of games.

Procopius Gazeus[c] affirmeth *Bishops* to be not onely Princes but also Counsellors of the people, like unto *Moses*, and the *Prophets*: *Meminerint*

a In Epist. 1. ad Tim.

b Constit. 123 Pag 345.

c in Isa. pag 36.

rint (ſaith he) *Epiſcopi, ſe non tanquam Principes, aut Imperatores, ſed ut Conſiliarios (quales Prophetæ ipſi, et Moyſes extiterunt, quibus per omnia ſimiles eſſe debent) populo concedi.* Let the *Biſhops* remember that they are beſtowed upon the people, not onely as cheife Rulers and Governours but as Counſellours alſo, ſuch as were the Prophets and Moyſes, to whoſe example they ought to conforme themſelves. And therefore no marveile that Chriſtian Princes have made uſe of them in all their weighty affaires [c], and greateſt Counſels e-

c That the ancient Kings of *England*, had the approbation and conſent of the *Biſhops*, or of ſome of the cheife of

them, as well as of the *Potentates* of the Land, to all their Charters of any ſpeciall note, And alſo in their chiefeſt and greateſt Councels, by theſe few extracts enſuing may appeare. *Ego Ethelbertus Rex Cantiæ cum conſenſu venerabilis Archiepiſcopi Auguſtini ac principum meorum, dabo & concedo in honore Sancti Petri aliquam partem terræ juris mei, quæ jacet in Orientè Civitatis Doroberniæ ita duntaxat ut ibi monaſterium conſtruatur, &c. Igitur adjuro & præcipio in nomine Domini Dei omnipotentis qui eſt omnium rerum Iudex juſtus, ut prædicta terra ſubſcripta donatione ſempiternaliter ſit confirmata, ita ut nec mihi, nec alicui ſucceſſorum meorum, Regum, aut Principũ, ſivè cujuſlibet conditionis dignitatibus & Eccleſiaſticis gradibus, de ea aliquid fraudare liceat.* I Ethelbert King of Kent, with the conſent of the Reverend Archbiſhop Auguſtine, do for the honour of Saint Peter, give and grant certaine part of my land lying on the eaſt part of Dover; To this purpoſe onely, that a Monaſtery be erected there &c. I therefore in the name of God Almighty, who is the iuſt Iudge of all things, require and charge that the foreſaid land be for ever ſo confirmed; that it ſhall not be lawfull either for me, or any my ſucceſſors, Kings, or Princes, nor for any Dignities, or Eccleſiaſticall Degrees of what condition ſoever, to alienate any part of it. Ex Chartis Ethelberti Dat. Anno Dom. 605. apud Cl. ac ornatiſſimum virum D. Hen. Spelman Eq. Aur. Conc. pag. 118. Anno Dominicæ incarnationis 605. *Ethelbertus Rex in fide roboratus catholica, unà cum Beata* [aliàs Berta vel Bertha] *Regina, filioque ipſorum Eadbalde, ac reverendiſſimo Præſule Auguſtino cæteriſque optimatibus terra, ſolemnitatem Natalis Domini celebravit Cantuariæ. Convocato igitur ibidem communi Concilio, tam Cleri quam populi, Die quinto Idûs Ianuarii, omnium & ſingulorum approbatione & conſenſu monaſterium ſupradictum per ipſum beatum Auguſtinum, Deo & Monachis ibidem perpetuo Domino Deo ſervituris, cum dotatione ejuſdem tradidit, atque perpetuâ libertate donavit, poſſeſſionibuſque terrarum variis, & aliis donis ampliſſimis ditavit.* King Ethelbert confirmed in the Catholique faith, together with Beata [aliàs Berta, or Bertha] his Queene, and with their ſon Eadbald, and the moſt Reverend

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Prelate Augustine, *and with the rest of the Nobility of the Land, solemnely kept his Christmas at Canterbury. And a common Councell being there assembled, as well of the* Clergy *as the People, on the ninth day of January, by the common approbation and consent of all and every one of them, he by Saint Augustine dedicated to God and the monasticall men that should for ever after serve there, the foresaid monastery, and endowed the same with ample possessions, and perpetuall liberty, and enriched it with most munificent gifts, apud eundem. pag. 126. Ego Adelstanus Rex consilio Wlfelmi Archiepiscopi mei, & aliorum Episcoporum meorum, mando praepositis meis omnibus &c.* I *Adelstan* by the advice of *Wlfelme* my Archbishop, and of other my Bishops, do command my Officers &c. *apud eundem, pag.* 402. Againe, *Ego Adelstanus Rex, notifico praepositis meis omnibus in regno meo, quid consilio Wlfelmi Archiepiscopi mei, & omnium Episcoporum meorum &c.* I King *Adelstan* signify unto all my Officers in my Kingdome, that by the advice of *Wlfelme* my Archbishop, and of all my Bishops &c. *Inter Leges Adelstani vel Ethelstani apud eundem pag.* 403. The second Charter of King Edward the Confessor, granted to the Church of Saint Peter at Westminster *An. Dom.* 1066 was *cum consilio & decreto Archiepiscoporum, Episcoporum, Comitum, aliorumque suorum Optimatum.* with the Councill and decree of the Archbishops, Bishops, Earles, and other Potentates. *apud eundem pag.* 630 The great Councill of King *Ina circa An. Dom.* 712. is remarkable, the Edicts thereof being enacted *per commune concilium, & assensum omnium Episcoporum & Principum, Procerum, Comitum, & omnium sapientum, seniorum, & populorum totius Regni, & per praeceptum Regis Ina.* By the common Counsel and consent of all the Bishops and Princes, Nobles, and Earles, and of all the wisemen, Elders and people of the whole Kingdome, and by the command of King Ina. *apud eundem* pag. 219. An Assembly fully correspondent to our late Parliaments of England, and sutable to that definition of our late famous Lawyer *Sir Ed. Coke Knight* who saith, that a Parliament is the highest and most honourable and absolute Court of Iustice of England, consisting of the King, the Lords of Parliament, and the Commons. And againe, the Lords are here divided into two sorts viz. Spirituall and Temporall. And Commons are divided into three parts viz. into Knights of Shires or Counties, Citizens out of Cities, and Burgesses out of Burroughs: All which have *Voices* and *Suffrages* in Parliament *Coke Institutes Lib.* 2. *fol.* 109. *b. &c.*

specially our English Kings and Monarkes, who both before the Conquest, and in all Parliaments since, have usually called and placed those lights of the Church, whereby their decrees and edicts have beene the more sutable and correspondent to the divine Law, and the whole body of the Clergy concluded thereby. And although *Bishops* be here called *Principes et Imperatores*, let not

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any man thinke that they are understood so to be, saving onely in regard of their rule and government in the Church and Church affaires.

Gregorius Episcopus Turonensis [a] out of a former History maketh relation of seven *Presbyters* by name that were ordained *Bishops*; Also he remembreth one *Laurentius* that in the time of the Emperour *Decius* (who raigned *Ann. Dom.* 250) was an *Archdeacon*. And [b] he relateth that in the second yeare of *Arcadius* and *Honorius* Saint *Martin Bishop of Tours* did much good at a Village within his Diocesse: *Sanctus Martinus Turonorum Episcopus plenus virtutibus & sanctitate, prabens infirmis multa beneficia octogesimo & primo ætatis suæ Anno, Episcopatus vero vicesimo & sexto, apud Condatensem diœcesis suæ vicum*. Saint Martin Bishop of *Tours* full of virtue and holinesse did much good to the weake at *Condatensis* a village of his Dioceſſe, in the 81 yeare of his age, and 26 of his Episcopacy. Behold here an other ancient and authenticke authority for Diocesan Bishops: for Saint *Martin* according to this Author died *in Ann. Dom.* 385. being of the age of 81 yeares, and in the 26 yeare of his Consecration. Againe, [a] he recordeth that one *Rusticus* being a *Presbyter* of the Dioceſſe of *Auvergne* was ordained the seventh *Bishop* thereof. He also reporteth that Saint *Illidius* having worthily attained to the Bishopricke of *Auvergne* [b], *Non solùm ipsos Averni territorii terminos, verùm etiam vicinarum urbium fines adivit*, Did not onely visite the utmost

[a] *Lib.* 1. *cap.* 38. *Archidiaconum.*

[b] Lib. 2. Cap. 43.

[a] Lib. 2. Cap. 13.

[b] *In vita S. Illidii Episcopi.*

utmoſt coaſts of *Auvergne*, but of the neighbouring Cities alſo. Here is not onely a Dioceſſe, but an addition of divers territories to the Dioceſſe of a worthy *Biſhop*.

Gregory the great upon theſe words of the Evangeliſt [c]. *Whoſe ſinnes ye remit they are remitted, and whoſe ſinnes ye retaine they are retained,* ſaith that *Biſhops* have the rule and government of the Church, and do ſupply the place of the Apoſtles; *Libet* [d] *intueri, illi diſcipuli ad tanta onera humilitatis vocati, ad quantum culmen gloriæ ſint producti. Ecce non ſolum de ſemetipſis ſecuri fiunt, ſed etiam aliena obligationis poteſtatem relaxationis accipiunt; principatum q; ſuperni judicis ſortiuntur, ut vice Dei quibuſdam peccata retineant, quibuſdam relaxent. ſed ſic eos a Deo decebat erigi; qui tantum pro Deo conſeruerant humiliari. Ecce qui diſtrictum Dei judicium metuunt, animarum judices fiunt, & alios damnant, vel liberant, qui ſemetipſos damnari metuebant. Horum profectò nunc in eccleſia Epiſcopi locum tenent; ligandi atq; ſolvendi authoritatem ſuſcipiunt, qui gradum regiminis ſortiuntur.* Let us ſee unto what an height of glory thoſe diſciples were advanced, who were called to undergo the burden of ſo much debaſement. Lo, they are not onely ſecure for themſelves, but they receive the power alſo of releaſing others. and partake of the power of the ſupreame Judge, that in God's ſtead they may retaine the ſins of ſome, and remit the ſins of others. But it was fit they ſhould be thus advanced by God, who were content to be ſo much

[c] In Evangel, Homil. 26. *ante medium.*

[d] *Ex parantiquo exemplari* M. S.

much debaſed for him. Behold, they become the Judges of other mens ſoules, who ſtand in feare themſelves of the ſevere Judgment of God; and they condemne or quit others, who feare to bee condemned themſelves. The Biſhops now ſupply the roome of theſe Apoſtles, and they who attaine to the degree of Governours of the Church, receive alſo the power of binding and looſing.

Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis [a] averreth Biſhops to bee prefigured by *Aaron*, and *Presbyters* by the ſonnes of *Aaron*, and *Deacons* by others the *Levites*, *Aaron* (ſaith he) *ſummus ſacerdos, id eſt Epiſcopus fuit, & filij ejus Presbyterorum figuram præmonſtrabant.* *Aaron* was the high Preiſt, *i.e.* the *Biſhop*, and his ſonnes prefigured the *Presbyters*. Againe, *Presbyterorum ordo exordium ſumpſit a filiis Aaron, (ut dictum eſt) qui enim ſacerdotes vocabantur in veteri Teſtamento, hi ſunt qui nunc appellantur Presbyteri, & qui nuncupabantur principes ſacerdotum, nunc Epiſcopi nominantur.* The order of *Presbyters* tooke its originall from the ſonnes of *Aaron* (as is aforeſaid) for they who were called Preiſts in the old Teſtament, are they who are now called *Presbyters*, and they who were then called high Preiſts, are now named *Biſhops*. And touching *Deacons* [b], he ſaith, *Diaconorum ordo à Levi tribu accepit exordium*. The Order of *Deacons* had it's Originall from the tribe of *Levi*.

Ina, ſometimes one of the Kings of this Nation, among his Eccleſiaſticall Lawes, forbid-

[a] Lib. 2. *de officiis* Eccleſiaſt. cap. 5. & cap. 7.

[b] Ibid. cap 8.

deth that any one under a great penalty, should give false evidence before a Bishop; He thus decreeth[c]. *Si quis coram Episcopo testimonium aut pignus suum falsò produxerit, 120, solidis compensato.* If any man shall produce a false testimony or pledge before the *Bishop*, let him be fined 120*l*. Which Law had beene altogether in vaine, if *Bishops* had not beene accustomed to receive the evidence of witnesses; and therefore capable of Judicature.

c *Inter leges Ecclesiast. in a Regn Occident. Saxonum* A.D. 693, *apud Dominum* Henr. Spelman. *pag.* 184.

Venerable Bede[a] putteth the matter out of question, and giveth most pregnant evidence that *Bishops* supply the roome of the Apostles, and *Presbyters* of the seventy Disciples. *Sicut duodecim Apostolos formam Episcoporum exhibere simul & praemonstrare, nemo est qui dubitet; Sic & hos septuaginta duos figuram Presbyterorum, id est, secundi ordinis sacerdotum gessisse sciendum est. Tametsi primis Ecclesiæ temporibus, ut Apostolica Scriptura testis est, utrique Presbyteri, utrique vocabantur Episcopi, quorum unum sapientiæ maturitatem, alterum industriam curæ pastoralis significat.* As none can doubt that the twelve Apostles did both exhibite and foreshew the patterne of *Bishops*, so must we also know that these twelve Disciples prefigured the *Presbyters*, i.e. the Preists of the second ranke. Although in the Primitive times of the Church both of them were called *Presbyters*, and both of them *Bishops*, the one whereof signified the maturity of wisedome, the other the industry of Pastorall care This renowned *English Presbyter*, the honour of England,

a In Luc exp. 10 vet 1.

England, and Mirrour of his time (as a Learned moderne Divine [b] ſtiles him) could ſay there were none that doubted, but that *Biſhops* are in the roome of the Apoſtles, and *Presbyters* of the ſeventy Diſciples [c]. But England is not now the ſame as it was in the daies of *Venerable Bede*: there is now a kind of phrenſy hath ſo poſſeſſed Engliſh men, that many not onely doubt whether *Biſhops* take any regularity from the Apoſtles, but they are ſo farre captivated by the cunning ſleights of the devil, that they ſcorne and vilify that divine ordination of Epiſcopacy as Popiſh and Antichriſtian: an helliſh aſſertion, and which more fitly becomes the mouthes of Turkes and Infidels, then ſuch as would be accounted Chriſtians, or pretend to hold Communion with the Catholicke Church.

To produce more witneſſes to prove ſo cleere a Truth were but to light a Candle before the Sunne. All ſucceeding ages as well as the former without the leaſt interruption untill the daies of *Calvin*, having conſtantly continued and preſerved the order, power, and authority of Biſhops, as a divine and Apoſtolicall truth.

[b] Dr Featly.

[c] *ſicut in Apoſtolis forma eſt Epiſcoporum; ſic in ſeptuaginta forma eſt Preſbyterorũ ſecundi ordinis. Petr. Comeſtor. Allegor. in Nov. Teſtam. m.ſ. Lib 14 c.2*

Cap. IV.

That Timothy and Titus were Bishops, proved by the Authority of ancient fathers and writers.

SOme there are and those not a few, who by some plausible and colourable arguments, would perswade the ignorant, that *Timothy* and *Titus* were *Evangelists* onely, and not *Bishops*, and therefore no president or patterne of Episcopall authority to be warranted or grounded upon the power delegated them by the Apostle; But not to misspend time in answering popular arguments, let us heare the testimonies of ancient writers, who positively affirme that they were *Bishops*, the one of *Ephesus*, the other of *Crete*.

Clemens Romanus [a] saith expressely that *Timothy* was ordained *Bishop* of *Ephesus* by S. *Paul*, and that *Titus* was Bishop of *Crete*.

Eusebius Pamphilus [b] hath thus recorded, *Lucas in Actibus Apostolorum plurimos ejus* [i.e. Pauli] *socios memorat, & participes prædicationis, sicut Timothei meminit & Titi, quorum alter in Epheso Episcopus, alter ordinandis apud Cretam Ecclesiis ab eo præficitur.* Luke in the Actes of the Apostles makes mention of many of Saint Pauls companions and fellow preachers, as of *Timothy* and *Titus*, one whereof was by him appointed Bishop of *Ephesus*, the other of *Crete*.

[a] Lib. 7. Constit. cap. 47.

[b] Eccles. Hist. lib. 3. cap. 4.

Epiphanius

Epiphanius [a] thus, *Corruit Aerii sermo, & quòd non potest idem esse, docet divinus Apostoli sermo, qui sit Episcopus, & quis Presbyter, cum dicit ad Timotheum qui erat Episcopus, Presbyterum ne objurges, sed adhortare velut patrem &c.* *Aerius* his assertion failes, and that it cannot be the same man, the Apostles words instruct us, who is a Bishop, and who a Presbyter, when he saith to Timothy who was a Bishop, *Rebuke not an Elder, but intreate him as a father.*

a Haer. 75. post medium.

Saint Ambrose [b] (or at least the Author of the Commentaries upon the Epistles that go under his name) thus, *Timotheum Presbyterum à se creatum Episcopum vocat.* He calleth *Timothy* Presbyter, whom he himselfe had ordained Bishop. And in his Prologue to the first Epistle to *Timothy*, *Hunc* [*Timotheum*] *jam creatum Episcopum instruit* [*Apostolus*] *per Epistolam, quomodo debet Ecclesiam ordinare.* The Apostle instructs [*Timothy*] being already a Bishop how he should order the Church. Also in the Prologue to the Epistle to *Titus*, *Titum Apostolus consecravit Episcopum, & ideò commonet eum, ut sit sollicitus in ecclesiastica ordinatione.* The Apostle consecrated *Titus* a Bishop, & therefore admonisheth him to be carefull of Ecclesiasticall Ordination.

b In Ephes. cap. 4.

Saint Hierome thus, [c] *Timotheum Ephesiorum Episcopum ordinatum à Paulo ex gentibus erat.* Timothy who was ordained Bishop of *Ephesus* by *Paul*, was [converted] from among the Gentiles. Againe, in his Exposition of these words of Saint *Paul*

c Catalog. Script.

[d] 2 Tim. 1. 6. *Paul*[d] *quæ in te est per impositionem manuum mearum.* which is in thee by the putting on of my hands: he thus commenteth, *ad Episcopatum scilicet*, to wit to Episcopacy.

[e] In 1. ad Philip. Homil. 2. *prope initium.* *Saint Chrysostome*[e] upon these words of Saint *Paul* to *Timothy*, *Imple ministerium tuum*, fullfill thy ministery, giveth this comment, *Quùm jam esses Episcopus; nam Episcopum illum fuisse declarat, sic illi scribens, manus citò nemini imposueris.* when he was now Bishop; for that he was a Bishop he manifesteth writing to him, *Lay hands suddenly on no man.*

[f] In 1. ad Timoth. cap. 1. ver. 2. *Sedulius*[f] upon these words unto *Timothy*, writeth in this manner, *Iste Timotheus Episcopus fuit in Epheso &c.* This *Timothy* was Bishop of *Ephesus* &c.

[g] Prolog. in Epis. ad Timoth. *Theodoret* thus[g], *Ut quid obsecro, quùm & alios haberet Paulus discipulos, nempe Silam, Lucam, & alios, ad Timotheum solùm & Titum nominatim scribit? Et dicimus, quòd his Ecclesias regendas jam tradiderat, reliquos verùm secum adhuc habebat.* For what purpose I pray, doth Saint *Paul* write expressely to Timothy and Titus onely, when he had other disciples also, namely *Silas Luke* and others? And we answer, that he had allready delivered over the Churches to be governed by them, but had the rest of his Disciples with him.

[a] Prolog in Epist. ad Titum. Againe,[h] *Titus egregius erat Pauli discipulus: Creta verò quæ maxima erat, ordinatus a Paulo Episcopus: Permissum autem ipsi erat, & commissum, ut inferiores ordinaret Episcopos.* *Titus* was a famous scholler

ler of Saint *Paul*, who made him Biſhop of *Crete*, a very great Province, and it was granted and committed to his charge, that he ſhould ordeine inferiour Biſhops. whereby it appeareth that *Titus* was not onely a Biſhop, but an Archbiſhop, he having inferiour Biſhops under his charge.

Primaſius thus [a], *Timotheus Epiſcopus fuit diſcipulus Pauli, huic per literas authoritatē dat corrigendi omnē eccleſiaſticam diſciplinam &c. Timothy* the Biſhop was Saint *Pauls* diſciple; to whom in his Epiſtle he gave power to correct all Eccleſiaſticall diſcipline &c.

[a] *Præfat. in Epiſt. ad Tim.*

In the commentary collected by *Oecumenius* thus [b], *Simul enim ut Paulus illi* [i. e. *Timotheo*] *manus impoſuit ordinans ipſum Epiſcopum, donum quoq; in eum ſupervenit.* As ſoone as *Paul* had laid hands on *Timothy*, ordeining him a Biſhop, he became immediatly gifted.

[b] *In Timoth. 2. cap. 1.*

That *Timothy* and *Titus* were Biſhops, is a confeſſed truth in all antiquity, and was never queſtioned till of late yeares [c], that faction and ſchiſme came to a full grouth. But for the better ſatisfaction of ſuch as are ſcrupulous, I remit them to the teſtimonies of the learned writers of later ages, of which I will name a fewe.

[c] *Etiam ab bonis Epiſcopis, Timotheo, Tito, & aliis magnis fit Paulus. Luther in Evangeliū. profeſt. S. Barthol. Propè finem.*

Haymo, in Epiſt. ad Philemon. 1. & in Argument. in 1. Epiſt. ad Timotheum.

Theophilact Prolog. in Epiſt. ad Tit. & in Phil. 1.

Anſelmus, Præfat. in 1. Tim. & in Titum.

Bruno, in 1. Tim. 3. Prolog. in 1. Tim. & in Titum,

Et in Expoſ. 1 *Tim.* 3. where he ſaith, that *Titus* was an *Archbiſhop.*

Saint *Bernard in Cantica Serm.* 30. *prope finem.*

Many more witneſſes of this truth might be produced, but theſe are enough to ſatisfie any unpaſſionate reader, and are of ſufficient worth to be credited and preferred before the idle fancies and invalid arguments of a few ſchiſmaticall and factious ſpirits.

Cap. V.

Cap. V.

That the power of Ordination appertaineth onely to Biſhops, proved by ſcriptures.

WHoſoever will take upon him to be a faithfull Miniſter of Ieſus Chriſt, muſt be able to prove himſelfe lawfully called and ordained thereunto, it being a matter of moſt dangerous conſequence, for any man to undertake the diſpenſation of the word and ſacraments, without a lawfull and warrantable miſſion, ſuch as hath ſufficient ground in Gods word. For as our Saviour himſelfe came not into the world, before he was ſent from his father: *I proceeded forth, and came from God, neither came I of my ſelfe, but he ſent mee* [a]. And as the bleſſed Apoſtles likewiſe, went not forth to preach till they were ſent, and ordained by Chriſt himſelfe: *As my father ſent mee, even ſo ſend I you* [b]. And, *Go yee* therefore, *and teach all nations* [c]. And, *I have choſen you, and ordained you* [d] *&c.* In like manner the Miniſters of the Goſpell muſt firſt be ſent, and ſo derive their calling from our Saviour, without which we cannot expect, that they ſhould deliver unto us the pure word of God, according to that of Saint *Paul* [e] *How ſhall they call on him, of whom they have not heard? and how ſhall they heare without a preacher? and how ſhall they preach except they be ſent?* By this

a Io. 8. 42.

b Io. 20. 21.
c Matt. 28. 19.
d Io. 15. 16.

e Rom. 10. 14, & 15.

rule we are taught to discerne true and orthodox Ministers, from usurpers, theeves, and intruders [a] *Verily, verily, I say unto you, he that entreth not by the doore into the sheepfold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a theife, and a robber.* Now what is it to climbe up some other way, but to rush into the Ministery without a lawfull calling and ordination thereunto, according to the institution of Christ? And if we take a serious view of the practice of the Apostles, we shall find that they ordinarily gave mission by imposition of hands, before admission to execute any office in the Ministery [b]. The seven *Deacons* were elected and that duely, but that was not enough, they must also be ordained by imposition of hands before they can officiate.. And by whom must they be so ordained? not by the multitude who elected them, but by such as had received authority from their Master, which were the blessed Apostles [c]. *whom they set before the Apostles, and when they had prayed, they laid their hands on them.* Presbyters or Elders also were ordained in every Church, but by whom? not by the Congregation or company of beleevers, but by some of the Apostles [d]: *And when they* [id est *Paul* and *Barnabas*] *had ordained them Elders in every Church, and had prayed with fasting, they commended them to the Lord on whom they beleeved* [e]. Here it is evident that albeit the Congregation did elect, yet none but the Apostles did ordaine. And we find not in all the new Testament, that any man

a Io. 10. 1. 2.

b Dionysius Areopagites qui ab Apostolo Paulo instructus, credidit Christo, secundum ea quæ in Apostolorum Actibus designantur, primus apud Athenas ab eodem Apostolo Episcopus fuerit ordinatus. Dionysius Corinth. Episcopus, apud Euseb lib 4. cap 23.

c Act. 6 5, 6.

d —— quod fecerunt & Apostoli, per singulas provincias, Presbyteros & Episcopos ordinantes &c. Hierome in Matt. cap. 25. ver. 26.

e Act. 14. 22.

man was ordained to the worke of the Ministery, otherwise then by imposition of some of the Apostles hands,) unlesse he were immediatly called of God) untill such time as the Apostles had conferred Episcopall power and authority upon *Timothy* and *Titus*, who that they were Bishops is, I trust, sufficiently proved; but some and those not a few, will not be perswaded that *Timothy* was ordained otherwise then by a company or certaine number of Presbyters; and to make this good they strongly urge that of St *Paul*[c]. *Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee by prophesy, with the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery**. But if St *Paul* be sufficient to be his owne expositor, he will tell us in expresse termes, that his owne hands[d] were those which were imposed upon *Timothy* at his ordination. For in another place he thus writeth to *Timothy*[e], *wherefore I put thee in remembrance, that thou stirre up the gift of God which is in thee by the putting on of my hands.*[f] Shall we now thincke that *Timothy* was ordained by any Covent, Councill, or assembly of Presbyters onely? Surely if S^t. *Paul* be of sufficient credit to be beleeved, he himselfe ordained *Timothy*: Howbeit it is probable that a certaine number of Presbyters[g] assented unto, and joyned with S^t. *Paul* in prayer and imposition of hands in the ordination of *Timothy*, in such sort as Presbyters at this day assist, and joyne with the Bishop in the ordination of Presbyters and Deacons. But in as much

c 1. Tim. 4. 14.
* *Non de Presbyteris hoc in loco, sed de Episcopis loquitur. Neque enim professi Presbyteri ipsum ordinarant.* Chrysost. hom. 13. *in* 1. Tim. 3. & 4.
d This Calvin doth acknowledge *lib.* 4. *Instit. c.* 3. *sect.* 16. *in fine.*
e 2. Tim. 1. 6.
f *Sacerdotes Episcopum non consecrabant.* Theophilact. *in locum.*
g *Episcopum absque concilio Presbyterorum Clericos non ordinet.* Inter excerptiones Egberti Archiepiscopi Ebor. apud D. Henr. Spelm. Conc. pa. 269. excerp. 44. An. D. 7.

as the Biſhop is he who hath the ſole power of Ordination, it is ſaid to be the act of the Biſhop, and not of the Presbyters, who are onely but aſſiſtants to the Biſhops in Ordination.

Now to whom did the Apoſtles commit the power of Ordination? doubtles to none ſaving onely ſuch who had beene ordained Biſhops, Rulers, or ſuperintendents of the inferiour Clergy, ſuch as were *Timothy* and *Titus*, and that they had the power of Ordination is utterly undeniable. For Saint *Paul* [b] thus directeth *Timothy*, *Lay hands ſuddainly on no man, neither be partaker* [c] *of other mens ſins.* He is alſo commanded to prove the *Deacons* [d] before they be admitted to that office. Now all this had been to none effect, unleſſe the power of Ordination by impoſition of hands, had of right appertained to him. And ſhall any other ordain ſaving thoſe to whom the examination and triall of ſuch as are to be ordained doth properly appertain? Surely no. Alſo it is manifeſt, that one principall cauſe wherefore *Titus* was left at *Crete*, was to ordaine Elders or Presbyters; But we find not that any ſuch power or authority was ever given to Presbyters, a Presbytery, or company of Elders, there being not any text throughout the whole Scripture to direct or authorize, nor example to warrant the undertakeing of the Miniſtery, without Ordination by ſome of the Apoſtles, or els by ſuch to whom they delegated that power and authority, which was to none but Biſhops, who had

b 1. Tim. 5. 22.

c *Particeps eſt peccatorum alicujus, quando cognoſcit aliquem criminoſum eſſe, vel audit famam malam illius, & ordinat illũ Epiſcopum, vel Presbyterum.* Haymo in loc.

d 1. Tim. 3 10.

had the particular charge, government, and overſight of the inferiour Clergy (unleſſe it were ſuch as were extraordinarily called immediatly by the Holy Ghoſt) *Biſhops* then, and none other muſt ordaine. In vaine therefore do they kicke againſt the ſpurre who endeavour to maintaine the contrary; for ſupport of whoſe ſchiſmaticall aſſertion in that particular there is no ground either of precept, rule, or example in the word of God. But let ſuch conſider the complaint of the Lord by the Prophet [a], *I have not ſent theſe Prophets, yet they ran; I have not ſpoken to them, yet they propheſied.* Againſt whom the Lord hath thus threatned [b]: *Behold, I am againſt the Prophets, ſaith the Lord, that uſe their tongues, and ſay, He ſaith. Behold I am againſt them that propheſy falſe dreames, ſaith the Lord, and do tell them, and cauſe my people to erre by their lies, and by their lightneſſe, yet I ſent them not, nor commanded them, therefore they ſhall not profit this people at all, ſaith the Lord.* Againſt their hearers alſo thus [c] *They ſay, Sword and famine ſhall not be in this land, By ſword and famine ſhall theſe prophets be conſumed: And the people to whom they propheſy, ſhall be caſt out in the ſtreets of Hieruſalem, and I will powre their wickedneſſe upon them.* Or if theſe menaces will not availe, let them call to mind the Judgment of God upon *Corah* [d] with the reſt of his adherents, whom the earth ſwallowed up alive for that they intruded and trench'd upon the *Princes* & *Preiſts* office, not being called thereunto. And that

a Ier. 23. 21.

b Ier. 23. 31, & 32.

c Ier. 14. 15. and 16.

d Num. 16.

a 2.Chron. 26. 16.

that of *Uzziah* a who was smitten with leprosie, for presuming to thrust himselfe into the *Preists* office by endeavouring to burne incense upon the Altar, which was not lawfull to be done by any, saveing onely the consecrated *Preists*. So dangerous a thing it is to intermeddle with holy offices without a lawfull calling and Ordination thereunto.

Cap. VI.

That the power of Ordination appertaineth onely to Bishops, proved by the fathers, and practise of the antient Church.

AND now let us proceed from the expresse testimonies of the Holy Scriptures, unto the received custome of the Church: For from whence shall we more certainely fetch the true sense and meaneing of the Scripture, then from the continued practice of the Holy Catholicke Church: without which Scripture must be (as in these dayes too too often) expounded by every private spirit, many times contrary to the genuine sense thereof, and utterly contrary to that of the Apostle,[a] *No Scripture is of any private interpretation.* Let us therefore see what the fathers have written, by which the practice of the Church will evidently appeare.

[a] 2 Pet. 1. 20.

Clemens Romanus[b], saith that *Zacheus* was ordained a *Bishop* by *S. Peter*[c]: *Haec autem & similia cum dixisset Petrus, manibus superpositis Zacheo, gravit ut inculpabiliter Episcopatus sui servaret officium.* when *Peter* had spoken these and the like words, laying his hands upon *Zacheus*, he prayed that he might discharge his Episcopall office without blame. And that the same *S. Peter* afterward

[b] Lib. 3. Recognitionum ad Iacob. fratrem Domini ante finem.

terward Ordained twelve *Presbyters*, and foure *Deacons*. *Poſt hac duodecim Presbyteros ordinavit & Diaconos quatuor.*

Ignatius informing *Hero* the Deacon of his duty towards the Biſhop and Presbyters, inſtructeth him in this manner[c]: *Nihil ſine Epiſcopo facito, Sacerdotes enim ſunt, tu verò Sacerdotum Miniſter: baptizant, ſacrificant, manus imponunt, tu verò illis miniſtras, ut ſanctus ille Stephanus Iacobo, & Presbyteris qui erant Hieroſolymis.* Do nothing without the Biſhop, for ſuch are Preiſts, but thou art the officer of the Preiſts: they baptiſe, offer ſacrifice, impoſe hands, but thou miniſtreſt unto them, as holy *Stephen* did to Saint *Iames*, and the Preſbyters who were at *Hieruſalem*. Although this Epiſtle be reputed ſuppoſititious, yet (whoever was the Author) it is of ſufficient antiquity to prove, that in the Primitive times Biſhops onely did Ordaine.

[c] *Epiſt. ad Heronem Diaconum propè initium.*

Dionyſius Areopagita[d] ſetteth forth the forme of Conſecration of Presbyters and Deacons by the Biſhop: Of Presbyters thus: *Sacerdos flexis ante Aram genibus, capiti ſuo admotam Pontificis manum dextram habet; atq; ita a Pontifice qui eum conſecrat, ſacris precationibus conſecratur.* The Presbyter kneeling before the Altar, the Biſhop layeth his right hand upon his head, and ſo hee is conſecrated with holy prayers by the Biſhop that ordaines him. And of Deacons in this manner: *Miniſter verò genu altero flexo ante altare, dextram manum Pontificis qui eum conſecrat,*

[d] *Lib. de Eccl Hierarchia ante finem.*

ſuper

ſuper caput habet, ab eoq; conſecratur ijs precationibus & invocationibus quibus Miniſtri conſecrari ſolent. The Deacon kneeling before the Altar, hath on his head the right hand of the Biſhop that ordaineth him, and is conſecrated by him with thoſe prayers and invocations that Deacons are vvont to be ordained vvithall. And a little after he ſaith: *Manus Pontificis impoſitio divinum præſidium declarat, quo tanquam ſancti pueri patris charitate foventur, ita ut eis quidem ſtatum vimq; eccleſiaſtici ordinis largiatur, contrarias autem poteſtates procul ab eis fugat.* The laying on of the Biſhops hand ſignifies divine aſſiſtance, vvherevvith as holy Children they are defended vvith a fatherly affection: ſo that he conferres on them the degree and power of an Eccleſiaſticall Order: and drives away from them all contrary powers. We may hereby ſee in how great eſtimation the impoſition of hands by the Biſhop was in antient time, though it be now ſleighted and diſreſpected by our Noveliſts. This antient writer[a] alſo preſſeth the neceſſity of Ordination by Biſhops by example of *Aaron*, who (notwithſtanding he was in ſuch favour with God, and accounted worthy of the high Preiſthood) yet was not admitted to that dignity, untill he was thereunto conſecrated by *Moyſes*. *Moyſes* (ſaith he) *ſacrorum legis myſteriorum interpres, ac præfectus, ne Aaronem quidem qui frater erat, antè ad Pontificiam dignitatem extulit, quem alioqui Deo charum eſſe, ac dignum ſacerdotio exiſtimaret, quàm*

[a] *Vt ſupra.*

ad id agitatus, Deo consecrationis principe, consecrationis ritum & munus, ut Pontifex exequutus est. And yet he is more plaine[a], and positively affirmeth, that he cannot be a Preist (or Presbyter) that is not ordained by a Bishop *Quinnec sacerdos quidem ipse erit, nisi Pontificis officijs ac praefectionibus ad id delectus fuerit.*

Anselmus saith[b], that S. *James* was the first Archbishop of *Hierusalem*, and that he was so ordained by *Peter*, *James*, and *John*, thereby giving an example to their successors, that a Bishop should not be ordained but by three other Bishops: and that *Presbyters* should be ordained by their proper *Bishop*. His words are: *Porro & Hierosolymitanum primus Archiepiscopus beatus Iacobus, qui Iustus dicebatur, & secundum carnem, Domini nuncupatus est frater, a Petro, Iacobo, & Iohanne Apostolis est ordinatus; Successoribus videlicet dantibus formam eorum, ut non minùs quàm a tribus Episcopis, reliquis q̃, omnibus assensum prabentibus, ullatenus Episcopus ordinetur, & communi voto ordinatio celebretur. Reliqui verò sacerdotes a proprio ordinentur Episcopo.* Moreover S. *James* called the *Iust*, & brother of our Lord according to the flesh, was ordained the first Archbishop of *Hierusalem* by the Apostles *Peter*, *Iames*, and *John*, they herein giving a patterne to their successors, that a Bishop should by no means be ordained, but by three Bishops at the least, all the rest consenting thereunto, that so ordination might be celebrated by a common consent. But other Preists

[a] *De Sacerdotum perfectionibus.*

[b] *Epist. 2. propè initium.*

Preists should be ordained by their owne Bishop.

Irenæus [a] relateth, that *Polycarpus* was ordained Bishop of *Smyrna* by some of the Apostles: *Et Polycarpus autem non solum ab Apostolis edoctus, & conversatus cum multis ex eis qui Dominum nostrum viderunt, sed etiam ab Apostolis in Asia, in ea quæ est Smyrnis ecclesiâ constitutus Episcopus, quem & nos vidimus in prima nostra ætate.* *Polycarpus* was not onely instructed by the Apostles, and conversed with many of those who had seene our Lord; but was also constituted Bishop of the Church of *Smyrna* in *Asia* by the Apostles, whom I have also seene in my youth.

[a] *Lib. 3. cap. 3. ante medium.*

Tertullian affirmeth [b] that Presbyters and Deacons cannot baptize, but by authority derived from the Bishop: *Dandi quidem [baptismi] habet jus summus Sacerdos, qui est Episcopus, dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, non tamen sine Episcopi authoritate.* The Cheife Preist, i. e. the Bishop hath power to baptize, after him the Presbyters and Deacons, but not without the authority of the Bishop, &c.

[b] *Lib. 1. de baptismo prope finem.*

Cyprian strongly maintaineth that the hereticke *Novatus*, was neither a Bishop, nor yet a member of the Church [c], *Qui* (saith he) *Apostolicâ traditione contemtâ nemini succedens a seipso ordinatus est.* Who contemning the Apostolique tradition, not succeeding any other, did ordaine himselfe. And concludeth, that he cannot owne any Church, who is not ordain'd in the Church:

[c] *Lib. 1. Epist. 6. ante medium.*

Habere namq; aut tenere ecclesiam nullo modo potest, qui ordinatus in ecclesia non est [a]. The same ancient Father saith, that *Cornelius* then Bishop of *Rome* being compelled to accept his Bishoprick, was ordained by many other Bishops [b]: *Cornelius factus est Episcopus a plurimis Collegis nostris, qui tunc in urbe Roma aderant.* Againe upon these words of S. *Paul* [c], *There must be heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you*: He teacheth us how to discover heretickes, saying that they erect new conventicles, and take upon them the name of a Bishop, and set up themselves without lawfull Ordination [d]: *Sic probantur fideles, sic perfidi deteguntur, sic & ante judicii diem hic quoq; jam justorum atq; injustorum anima dividuntur, & a frumento palea separantur. Hi sunt qui se ultro apud temerarias conventas sine divina dispositione præficiunt, qui se præpositos sine ulla ordinationis lege constituunt, qui nemine Episcopatum dante, Episcopi sibi nomen assumunt.* A lively description of heretickes, most daily meeting with those among us, who dare outface Fathers, Councills, the whole Church, yea and Scripture it selfe, and against the authority of all will take upon them to erect schismaticall conventicles †, and to ordaine themselves without any lawfull mission or authority, most wickedly as *wolves in sheepes clothing*, seducing simple and ignorant people, who by the cunning sleights of such foxes, are strongly perswaded that they are in the direct rode to heaven, if they can but sculkingly

a Vbi supra.

b Lib 4. Epist. 2. prope initium.

c 1. Cor. 11. 19.

d Lib. de simplicitate prælatorum ante medium.

† Si quis extra ecclesiam seorsum conventum celebrat, & despiciens ecclesiam, ea quæ sunt ecclesiæ volunt usurpare, non convocato Presbytero, juxta decretum Episcopi, Anathema sit. Conc. Gangr. Can. 6.

sculkingly communicate with any such pretended reformers, who are instantly cryed up for famous Divines, and worthy Preachers, especially if they have the art to beat downe all loyalty and obedience to their *King*, and of railing against the sacred ordinance of Episcopacy, and all decency and order in the Church.

Synodus Alexandrin[a] averreth such to be none other then Lay persons, who are ordained only by Presbyters, and that such Ordination is utterly invalid and of none effect; of which there is an instance given of one *Ischyras* who took upon him to be ordained a Presbyter by one *Colluthus* who was onely a Presbyter, and therefore not capable of that power; it is thus related: *Presbyter autem qui fingitur adfuisse, est ille toties rumoribus jactatus Ischyras, qui neq; ab ecclesia electus Presbyter, neq; cum Meletio constitutos Presbyteros Alexander in ecclesia recipiebat, in eorum numero unquam habitus fuit, aut ab eo creatus. Quo pacto igitur Presbyter Ischyras? aut quo tandem authore constitutus? nunquid scilicet a Colluthoe? id enim restat:- atqui Colluthum in grado Presbyterii mortuum, omnemq; ejus manuum impositionem rescissam, omnesque ab eo constitutos in Laicorum ordinem redactos esse, & sub nomine Laicorum ad synaxim admissos adeo apud omnes constat, ut nemo eâ de re dubitandum putet.* But the Presbyter feined to be there, is that *Ischyras* so much talked of, who was neither elected by the Church, nor when *Alexander* did receive into the Church the

[a] *Epist. apologetica pro Athanasio ultra medium. apud Athan.*

the Presbyters ordained by *Melettus*, was he ever reputed one of them, or ordained by him. How then is *Iscbyras* a Presbyter, or by whom was he ordained? what by *Colluthus*? But that *Colluthus* died a Presbyter onely, and that his Ordinations were annulled, and that all ordained by him were reputed lay men, and under that stile admitted to the Holy Communion, it so well knowne to all men, that no man conceives any question to be made of it. This we see was so generally received in those times as that none made question, or doubted thereof. But no mervaile that this as well as many other divine truthes are now adayes not onely doubted, but sleighted and rejected also, among which the Apostles Creede is not exempted. In so much that now it may be truly said, *woe unto us the inhabitants of the earth, for the devill is come downe unto us, having great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time*[a]. And if we are not blind we cannot but take notice how potent the devill is at this present, even as if he dwelt personally among us: for in most places he hath his impes, who by their sleights, and subtill wiles, delude the ignorant; who by meanes of those juglers, are tossed to and fro, and *carried about with every wind of doctrine*[b]: I meane such who are not ashamed to gainsay the Apostles Creede, to prohibite the use of the Lords prayer, yea to *preach of cursing and lies*[c]; and also most Atheistically to jeere and scoffe at the publique divine worship

[a] Revel. 12. 12.

[b] Ephes. 4 14.

[c] Psal. 59. 12.

of

of God in his house of prayer, even to the face of the Congregation: Such damned and vilanous impieties were never before heard of in the Christian world, and do surpasse all the heresies that ever troubled the Church of Christ.

Lucifer Calaritanus[a] affirmeth, that he who hath the government of the Church (i.e. the Bishop) must be ordained by the imposition of hands of other Bishops: *Neque enim posset impleri virtute Spiritûs Sancti ad Dei gubernandum populum, nisi, quem Deus elegisset, cuique manus per Catholicos Episcopos fuisset imposita, sicut defuncto Moyse impletum Spiritu sancto invenimus Successorem ejus Iesum Nave. Loquitur enim Scriptura sancta dicens, & Iesu filius Nave impletus est spiritu intelligentiæ: imposuerat enim Moyses manum super eum &c.* Nor could any man be enabled with the power of the Holy Ghost to governe Gods people, but whom God had chosen, and on whom Catholique Bishops had imposed hands. As after *Moyses* his decease, we find his successor *Iosua* the son of *Nun* filled with the Holy Ghost, for so saith the Scripture, *And Iosua the son of Nun was full of the spirit of wisedome, for Moyses had laid his hands upon him &c.* Againe, *Non licuerit ordinari nisi fuisset defunctus Athanasius, & defuncto Athanasio, Catholicus debuerit per Catholicos ordinari Episcopos.* It was not lawfull that any one should be Ordained before *Athanasius* his death, and *Athanasius* being deceased, some Catholique man should be ordained by Catholique Bishops.

a Lib. 1. *ad Constantium pro Athanasio pag.* 16, 17.

Optatus Milevitanus [b] relateth that one *Botrus*, and one *Celestius* of the sect of *Donatus*, being desirous to be ordained Bishops, were disappointed of their designe, and one *Caecilianus* elected, and afterward ordained by imposition of the Bishops hands. *Botrus & Celestius* (saith he) *apud Carthaginem ordinari cupientes, operam dederunt, ut absentibus Numidis, soli vicini Episcopi peterentur, qui ordinationem apud Carthaginem celebrarent: Tunc suffragio totius populi, Caecilianus eligitur, & manus imponente Felice Aptungitano Episcopus ordinatur.* *Botrus* and *Celestius* desiring to be ordained at *Carthage* laboured, that in the absence of the *Numidian*, the neighbouring Bishops only might be sent for, to ordaine at *Carthage*: Then was *Caecilian* elected by the suffrage of all the people, and ordained Bishop by *Felix Aptungitanus*, where we may note that albeit *Botrus* and *Celestius* were no better then schismatiques, yet they were not so impudent, as to take upon them Episcopall authority without a lawfull ordination thereunto.

[b] Lib. 1. *de schism. Donatist. ante finem.*

Epiphanius [c] having ordained a Presbyter in the Diocesse of *Iohn* Bishop of *Hierusalem*, writeth thus in his owne excuse: *Etsi singuli ecclesiarum Episcopi habent sub se ecclesias, quibus curam videntur impendere, & nemo super alienam mensuram extenditur, tamen praeponitur omnibus charitas Christi, in qua nulli simulatio est: nec considerandum quid factum sit, sed quo tempore, & quo modo, & in quibus, & quare factum sit.* Though all Bishops have

[c] *Apud Hieron. Tom. 2. Epist. 60. prope initium.*

have under them some Churches, which they are to take a speciall charge of, and none ought to encroach upon anothers cure, yet Christian charity wherein is no deceit is above all. Nor is it to be considered what was done, but when, how, wherein, and why. And a little after: *O vere benedicta Episcoporum Cypri mansuetudo, & bonitas, & nostra rusticitas sensu tuo & arbitratu dignam misericordiâ Dei. Nam multi Episcopi communionis nostræ, et Presbyteros in nostra ordinaverunt provincia, quos nos comprehendere non potueramus: et miserunt ad nos Diaconos & Hypodiaconos quos suscepimus cum gratia, & ipse cohortatus beatæ memoriæ Philonem Episcopum, & S. Theoprobum, ut in ecclesiis Cypri, quæ juxta fecerant, ad mea autem parochia videbantur ecclesiam pertinere, eò quòd grandis esset, & late patens provincia, ordinarent Presbyteros, & Christi ecclesiæ providerent.* O the most blessed meekenesse and goodnes of the Bishops of *Cyprus*, and our rusticity in your opinion worthy of pitty. For many Bishops have ordeined Presbyters in our Province, and have sent unto us Deacons and Subdeacons which we thankfully accepted: and I also intreated *Philo* the Bishop of blessed memory, and *S. Theoprobus*, that they would ordaine Presbyters in the Churches of *Cyprus* that were neare unto them, though they belonged to my Dioceſſe, because my Province was great and farre extended.

Dioceſis late patens.

S. Hierome being a Presbyter, and therefore might be thought willing to advance his owne

Order: yet he[a] ingeniously acknowledgeth, that Ordination doth apperteine onely to Bishops. *Quid enim facit* (saith he) *excepta ordinatione Episcopus, quod Presbyter non faciat?* What doth the Bishop, Ordination excepted, which the Presbyter doth not? And elsewhere[a] he is very plaine, where he saith, *Sine chrismate, & Episcopi jussione, neq; Presbyter, neque Diaconus jus habeant baptizandi.* Without Chrisme and the command of the Bishop, neither the Presbyter nor Deacon, have any power to baptize.

Ruffinus[b] reporteth that one *Moyses* was to be ordained a Bishop, for which purpose, *Adest Lucius cui ordinandi ferebatur officium. Lucius*, who had the power to ordaine, was at hand. This *Lucius* was a Bishop though an *Arrian*, as *Ruffinus*[c] himselfe doth witnesse, whence may be observed that the *Arrians*, as vile and abominable heretickes as they were, yet in that particular, they were more orthodoxe then our Novelists: For they would not presume to ordaine without a Bishop. And this *Moyses* refusing to receive Ordination from an heretick, afterwards (saith this Author) *Quoniam perurgebat necessitas reipublicæ consulendi, compulsus est ut ab Episcopis quos in exilium truserat, Sacerdotium sumeret.* Because he was enforced in respect of the publique good, he was constrained to receive his Preisthood from Bishops whom *Lucius* had banished.

S. *Chrysostome*[d] having affirmed *Timothy* to be

a *Epist. ad Evagrium.*

a *Dialog contra Luciferianos ante medium.*

b *Lib. 2. Eccles. Hist. cap. 6.*

c *Lib. 2. Eccles Hist. cap. 3.*

d *In Epist. ad Philip. 1. homil. 2. prope initium.*

be a Bishop, giveth this solid reason wherefore he must of necessity be a Bishop, namely, in that he had the power of Ordination by imposition of hands: *Nam Episcopum* (saith he) *illum fuisse declarat, sic illi scribens, Manus cito nemini imposueris.*

S. *Augustine* [a] relating a particular custome touching the Ordination of the Bishop of *Carthage*, giveth cleere evidence that they were ordained by Bishops: *Cum aliud habeat ecclesia catholica consuetudo, ut non Numidia, sed propinquiores Episcopi Episcopum ecclesiæ Carthaginis ordinent, sicut nec Romana ecclesia ordinet aliquis Episcopus Metropolitanus, sed de proximo Ostiensis Episcopus.* The custome is, that not the *Numidian*, but the neighbouring Bishops ordaine the Bishop of *Carthage*, so neither doth any Metropolitan Bishop, but the neighbouring Bishop of *Ostia*, ordeine the Bishop of *Rome*.

Sulpitius Severus [b] testifieth, that many Bishops were called to the Ordination of S. *Martin* Bishop of *Tours*, in these words: *Multi Episcopi ad constituendum* [*B. Martinum*] *Antistitem futuri evocati.*

Leo positively affirmeth [c], that a Bishop doth many things which Presbyters cannot do, as *Presbyteros ordinare, Ecclesias consecrare, imponere manus fidelibus baptizatis &c.* To ordaine Presbyters, consecrate Churches, lay hands on the faithfull after Baptisme &c. whete he also giveth this reason thereof, *Quoniam, quamquam*

a *Collatio tertiis dies contra Donatistas, post medium. Tom. 7 pag. 393.*

Metropolitanus.

b *Sulpitius in vita B. Martini pag. 193 par. 7.*

c *Epist. 86.*

Presbyteri consecrationem habeant Pontificatûs, tamen apicem non habent. Because, allthough Presbyters have the same consecration with Bishops, yet they have not the same eminent degree.

d Lib. 2. de Eccl. officijs. cap. 6.

Isidorus Hispalensis[d] expressely averreth that notwithstandidg Rurall or Countrey Bishops may ordaine Readers, Subdeacons &c. yet they cannot in any wise ordaine Presbyters or Deacons: for those the Bishop himselfe must ordeine, according to the custome of the Church. *Hi* [id est Chorepiscopi] *in vicis & villis instituti gubernant sibi commissas ecclesias, habentes licentiam constituere Lectores, Subdiaconos, Exorcistas: Presbyteros autem, & Diaconos ordinare non audeant prater conscientiam Episcopi, in cujus regione praesse noscuntur: hi enim a solo Episcopo civitatis cui adjacent, ordinantur.* These, that is, the Rurall Bishops instituted in townes and villages, governe the Churches committed to their charge, having licence to set up Readers, Subdeacons, Exorcists, but they must not presume to ordeine Presbyters and Deacons, without the Bishops privity, in whose Dioceese they governe: for these must be ordeined onely by the Bishop of the same Dioceese. Againe,

e Lib. 2. de Eccl. officijs. cap 26.

[e] *Spiritum Sanctum accipere possumus, dare autem non possumus, Sed ut detur Deum invocamus. Hoc autem a quo potissimum fiat, quemadmodum Papa Sanctus Innocentius scribit, subjiciam. Dicit enim, non ab alio quàm ab Episcopo fieri licere: Nam Presbyteri licet sint Sacerdotes, Pontificatûs tamen apicem non habent. Hoc autem*

autem solis Pontificibus deberi, ut vel confignent, vel paracletum spiritum sanctum tradant, non solum ecclesiastica consuetudo demonstrat, verùm et illa lectio Apostolorum quæ asserit Petrum & Iohannem esse directos qui jam baptizatis traderent Spiritum sanctũ.
we may receive, but not give the Holy Ghost. But we call upon God to give it. But I shall, as the holy Pope *Innocent* writes, shew you by whom cheifely this must be done. For he saith, it may not be done by any other besides the Bishop. For the Presbyters though they be Preists, yet have they not attained the eminent degree of Episcopacy. But that this belongs to the Bishop alone, either to ordeine, or conferre the Holy Ghost the Comforter, is evident, not only by the Custome of the Church, but also by that saying of the Apostles, which affirmes, that *Peter* and *John* were directed, that they might conferre the Holy Ghost on them that were baptized.

Ivo Carnotensis (though long after many others which might be produced, yet by him we may be informed, that the Church constantly retained her ancient and approved custome according to Apostolicall institution, untill the dayes of this learned writer, without any such mixture of new tangled doctrines and opinions, wherewith our fiery and ignorant zealots are blinded and infatuated, and by which the verity and purity of the Apostles doctrine are in these our pestilent times, most miserably clouded & ecclipsed

ecclipsed) This writer followeth the tracke of Antiquity, not deceding from the Ancients, His words are: [a] *Presbyterorum ordo a filiis Aaron sumpsit exordium, qui cum Episcopis in pluribus commune habent officium, & qui nunc Presbyteri vocantur, tunc Sacerdotes vocabantur, & qui nunc sunt Pontifices, tunc dicebantur Sacerdotum principes.* The Order of Presbyters had its originall from the sons of *Aaron*, whose office in many things is the same with that of Bishops, and they which are now called Bishops, were then called the high Preists. And then giveth instance of sundry particulars, wherein the Bishop differeth from Presbyters, as namely, for that *solis Pontificibus addicta est Clericorum ordinatio, Basilicarum dedicatio, manus impositio, & communis super populum benedictio.* Ordination of the Clergy, Consecration of Churches, imposition of hands, and the publique blessing the people, is annexed to Bishops onely.

[a] Lib. 2. de Sacramentis, tract. de singulis ordinum gradibus, cap. de Presbyteris.

vid. Raban. Maurum de institutione Clericon lib. 1. cap. 6.

CAP. VII.

Cap. VII.

That by the authority of ancient Canons and Generall Councells, Biſhops onely muſt Ordaine.

THe ancient Canons commonly called *Canones Apoſtolorum*, do decree that [a] *Epiſcopus a duobus, aut tribus Epiſcopis ordinetur*: A Biſhop be ordeined by two or three Biſhops. And that [b] *Presbyter ab uno Epiſcopo ordinetur, & Diaconus, & reliqui Clerici*: A Presbyter be ordeined by one Biſhop, and ſo a Deacon and the reſt of the Clergy. I know the authority of theſe Canons is doubted by many of the Learned, yet none can diſprove that they were received in the Primitive times, eſpecially the firſt fifty thereof; and the addition of the later cannot extenuate the authority of the former.

a Canon. 1.

b Canon. 2.

The Councill of *Ancyra* [c] forbiddeth Rurall or Countrey Biſhops to ordeine Presbyters or Deacons: *Chorepiſcopis non licere Presbyteros aut Diaconos ordinare, ſed nec Presbyteris civitatis ſine præcepto Epiſcopi, vel literis, in unaquaq; parochia aliquid imperare, nec ſine authoritate literarum ejus in unaquaq; parochia aliquid agere.* Rurall Biſhops may not ordeine Presbyters or Deacons, nor may the City Presbyters command any thing in any pariſh, without the Biſhops letters or injunction; nor may they do ought in any pariſh

c Cap. 12, alias 13.

riſh without the Biſhops letters.

a Canon. 4. In the firſt generall Councill of *Nice*[a] conſiſting of three hundred and eighteene Biſhops, it was thus decreed: *Epiſcopum, convenit maximè quidem ab omnibus qui ſunt in provincia, Epiſcopis ordinari; ſi autem hoc difficile fuerit, aut propter inſtantem neceſſitatem, aut propter itineris longitudinem, tribus tamen omnimodis in idipſum convenientibus, & abſentibus quoq; pari modo decernentibus, & per ſcripta conſentientibus, tunc ordinatio celebretur. Firmitas autem eorum quæ geruntur per unamquamque provinciam Metropolitani tribuatur Epiſcopo.* Tis fit a Biſhop be ordeined by all the Biſhops, eſpecially thoſe of the ſame Province. but if this cannot eaſily be done, by reaſon either of the inſtant neceſſity, or the lengh of the iourney, yet let him be ordeined by three that are preſent, and by the joint conſent of thoſe which are abſent, teſtified under their hands. but it belongs to the Metropolitan Biſhop to ratifie what's done in each Province.

The firſt Councill of *Arles* doth enioine, that *Nullus præſumat Epiſcopum ordinare, niſi aſſumptis ſecum aliis ſeptem Epiſcopis. Si tamen non potuerint ſeptem, ſine tribus fratribus non audeant ordinare*[b]: No Biſhop preſume to ordeine another Biſhop, without ſeven Biſhops joined with him, but if ſeven cannot be had, yet without three of their brethren they ſhall not dare to ordeine.

b Canon. 21.

c Canon. 9 The ſecond Councill at *Arles*[c] decrees, that *Nullus Epiſcopus ſine Metropolitani permiſſu, nec Epiſcopus*

Epiſcopus Metropolitanus ſine tribus Epiſcopis comprovincialibus, præſumat Epiſcopum ordinare &c. No Biſhop preſume to ordeine another Biſhop without the Metropolitans leave, nor a Metropolitane Biſhop, without three Biſhops of the ſame Province with him.

The Councill of *Antioch*[a] doth thus determine: *Per ſingulas regiones Epiſcopos conveniri oportet, Metropolitanum Epiſcopum ſolicitudinem totius provinciæ gerere, propter quod ad Metropolim omnes undiq; qui negotia videntur habere concurrant; unde placeat eum & honore præcellere, & nihil amplius præter eum cæteros Epiſcopos agere, ſecundum antiquam a patribus noſtris regulam conſtitutam, niſi ea tantùm quæ ad ſuam Diœceſim pertinent, poſſeſſionesq; ſubjectas: unuſquiſq; enim Epiſcopus habeat ſuæ parochiæ poteſtatem; ut regat juxta reverentiam ſingulis competentem, & providentiam gerat omnis poſſeſſionis, quæ ſub ejus eſt poteſtate; ita ut Presbyteros & Diaconos ordinet &c.* That the Biſhops in every Dioceſſe ought to know, that the Metropolitane Biſhop hath the charge and cure of the whole Province, wherefore ſuch as have buſines may from all parts have recourſe unto the Metropolis; ſo they are pleaſed to dignifie the Metropolitane above the reſt, of the other Biſhops, according to the ancient rule preſcribed by our anceſtours, doing nothing without him, except onely what belongs to their particular Dioceſſes and poſſeſſions thereunto appertaining: For let every Biſhop have the government of his owne

[a] Canon 9.

Dioceſſe, that he may governe with due regard to every man, and providently manage the poſſeſſions of his Church; that ſo he may ordeine Presbyters and Deacons &c. The ſame Councill [a] doth prohibite Rurall Biſhops to ordeine Presbyters or Deacons: *Qui in vicis vel poſſeſſionibus Chorepiſcopi nominantur, quamvis manûs impoſitionem Epiſcoporum perceperint, & ut Epiſcopi conſecrati ſunt; tamen ſanctæ Synodo placuit, ut modum proprium recognoſcant, ut gubernent ſibi ſubjectas eccleſias, earúmque moderamine curaque contenti ſint. Ordinent etiam Lectores, & Subdiaconos, atq; Exorciſtas, quibus promotiones iſtæ ſufficiant. Nec Presbyterum verò, nec Diaconum audeant ordinare, præter civitatis Epiſcopum, cui ipſe cum poſſeſſione ſubjectus eſt.* Thoſe which in Townes or Villages are called Rurall Biſhops, though they be ordeined and conſecrated as Biſhops; yet it ſeemeth good to the Holy Synod to decree, that they keepe within their owne bounds, that they governe the Churches under them, and content themſelves with the managing and charge of the ſame. That they alſo Ordeine ſuch to be Readers, Subdeacons, and Exorciſts, that are capable of ſuch Orders. But that no Rurall Biſhop preſume to ordeine a Presbyter or Deacon without the Biſhop of the City, whereunto he and his territories are ſubject.

[a] Canon. 10.

The Councill of *Sardice* [b]; The Councill of *Laodicea* [c]; The Councill of *Conſtantinople* [d]; The ſecond Councill of *Carthage* [e]; And the third Councill

[b] Canon. 18. 19
[c] Canon. 12.
[d] Canon 3.
[e] Canon. 12.

Councill of *Carthage* [f]; do all accord, and forbid any to ordeine, ſaving onely *Biſhops*. And the fourth Councill of *Carthage* preſcribeth the formes of Ordination of Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons &c. Of *Biſhops* thus [a]: *Epiſcopus cùm ordinatur duo Epiſcopi ponant & teneant Evangeliorum codicem ſuper caput & cervicem ejus, & uno ſuper eum fundente benedictionem, reliqui omnes Epiſcopi qui adſunt, manibus ſuis caput ejus tangant.* when a *Biſhop* is Ordeined, let two *Biſhops* hold the Goſpell upon his head, and one of them bleſſing him, let the reſt of the *Biſhops* then preſent lay their hands on his head. Of Presbyters thus: *Presbyter cùm ordinatur Epiſcopo eum benedicente, manum ſuper caput ejus tenente, etiam omnes Presbyteri qui præſentes ſunt, manus ſuas juxta manũ Epiſcopi, ſuper caput illius teneant.* When a Presbyter is ordeined, the *Biſhop* holding his hand upon his head and bleſſing him, let the Presbyters alſo which are preſent, lay their hands upon his head neare the *Biſhops* hand. And of Deacons in this manner [c]: *Diaconus cùm ordinatur, ſolus Epiſcopus qui eum benedicit, manum ſuper caput illius ponat, qui non ad Sacerdotium, ſed ad miniſterium conſecratur.* When a Deacon is Ordeined, the *Biſhop* alone who conſecrateh him, putteth his hand upon his head, for he is ordeined Miniſter, not Preiſt.

Concilium Calchuthenſe Legatinum & Panangli cum [d] did decree that: *Nullus Epiſcoporum, Presbyterum aut Diaconum ordinare præſumat, niſi probata*

f Canon. 39.

a Canon. 2.

b Canon. 3

c Canon. 4.

d *Apud D.* Herpelman *Conc.* tom. 1. fol. 295.

bata vitæ fuerint, & officium ſuum rectè implere poſſint: No *Biſhop* preſume to Ordeine Presbyter or Deacon, unleſſe he be of approved life, and able to execute his function.

a *Ibudeundem* fol. 331.

Synodus Celichyth a under *VVlfred* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* did provide that, *Nulli Epiſcoporum liceat alterius parochiam invadere, vel etiam aliquid alterius miniſterij ad ſe pertrahere in aliqua conſecratione eccleſiarum, vel Presbyterorum, Diaconorumq, niſi ſolus Archiepiſcopus, quia caput eſt ſuorum Epiſcoporum.* It might not be lawfull for any *Biſhop* to encroach upon anothers Dioceſſe, or to uſurpe any thing of anothers charge, either in the Conſecration of Churches, Presbyters, or Deacons, except the Archbiſhop onely, becauſe he is the cheife of his Biſhops.

CAP. VIII.

Cap. VIII.

That there hath beene, and muſt be a continued Succeſſion of Biſhops from the Apoſtles proved by Scripture.

SUcceſſion doth in ſome ſort depend upon Ordination, for without Ordination there cannot be any Succeſſion, and without a lawfull Succeſſion there cannot be a true Church, in regard every true Church muſt be able by a legall & continued ſucceſſion to derive it ſelfe as it were lineally from ſome of the Apoſtles, who by command laid upon them by their Maſter, were to preach the word *to all Nations.* For our Saviour (as is already ſaid) teſtifieth, that he was ſent from his Father, and that he did ſend the Apoſtles, as his Father had ſent him: *As my father hath ſent mee, ſo ſend I you* [a]. Againe, we find the Apoſtles miſſion at large [b]: *Goe ye and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghoſt: teaching them to obſerve all things whatſoever I have commanded you; and lo I am with you alway even unto the end of the world.* But the Apoſtles were men, and therefore mortall, how then is Chriſt with them to the end of the world? Yes, he is ſaid to be with them, in as much as he is with their rightfull Succeſſors, and ſo will be to the

a Jo. 20. 21.
b Mat. 28, 19. 20

the worlds end; that is with such as now can or sometimes could derive their calling by mediate or immediate succession from any of the Apostles, and so consequently from Christ himselfe. Now the blessed Apostles well understanding that they must leave others to succeed them in the rule and government of the Church, they were carefull thereof, *and what course was taken therein, we may observe by S. *Pauls* command to *Timothy* and *Titus* [c], to ordaine Elders, to charge others that they teach [d] no other doctrine, with many other particulars before expressed. So that we doe not onely find in Scripture the Successors of the Apostles, but direction also for Successors of their Successors, one being ordained by another, that thereby all of them might derive a legall title to their function from Christ the head.

Moreover S. *Paul* is very strict with *Timothy* [a]; *I give thee charge in the sight of God who quickneth all things, and before Jesus Christ, who before Pontius Pilate witnessed a good confession, that thou keepe this commandement without spot, unrebukeable, until the appearing* [or coming] *of our Lord Jesus Christ.* Now *Timothy* could not keepe this commandment longer then he lived, those then that succeed him in his function must keepe it to the worldes end: for whatsoever is spoken to the person of *Timothy*, is likewise intended to all [b] other *Bishops* and governors of the Church which then were, or which should succeed in after-times.

Now

* *Apostoli tradiderunt Ecclesiæ Episcopu.* th: Apostles did commit the the Churches to th: Bishops charge. *Iran. l. 3. ultra medium*

c *Vide* 1 Tim. 5. 22. *&* Tit. 1. 5. *ut supra* c. 2.

d *Sicut ego te deprecatus ut remaneres post me qui ministerium meum impleret sic & tu alios institue qui tibi succedant.* As I have taught thee, that there should be one that should supply my place after me, so do thou also instruct others to succeed thee. Haymo in 2. *ad* Tim. 4 5.

a 1. Tim. 6 13. 14.

b *Ista profecto Timotheo dum loquitur omnes salubriter admonet*, whilst he thus speakes to Timothy, he also admonisheth all others. Chrysost. in 1 Tim. 4. & 5. Hom. 13.

Now this note of *Succeſſion* is no new thing, being as antient as *Aaron*: for the high Preiſts under the law did derive their authority by a continued Succeſſion from *Aaron* untill the laſt demoliſhing of the Temple; neither doth Chriſt himſelfe permit every one to ſit in *Moſes* Chaire, but ſuch onely to whom that ſeat is given by Authority[a]. Such then among us as enter not into the Church, I meane into any Eccleſiaſticall order, under the authority which our Saviour gave his Apoſtles, we ought not to heare they being no better then intruders, theeves, robbers, and wolves in ſheepes clothing, of whom we have ſufficient caution to beware.

a Mat. 23 12.

But before I proceed to prove this truth by authority of the Primitive, and moſt ancient orthodox Fathers, (ſucceſſion being a thing which the Scripture cannot *in praxi* demonſtrate, in regard the Apoſtles could not poſſibly enumerate ſuch as ſucceeded them) I ſhall inſtance a paſſage out of *Ioſephus*, by which it may appeare what validity and authority Succeſſion had under the Law. He thus giveth the relation[a]: *Apud Alexandriam inter Iudæos & Samaritas, qui ſub Alexandro magno Garizitani Templi religionem induxerunt, ſeditio eſt exorta de ſacris ipſorum, ita ut res ad regis cognitionem perveniret; dum Iudæi contendunt juxta Moyſi præſcripta Hieroſolymitanum templum eſſe legitimum. Samarita vero Garizitanum: provocatumq; eſt ad regem & amicorum ejus conſeſſum, ut ab his cauſa audiretur, & utrius*

a Ioſeph. anti. Jud. l. 13. cap. 6. alias 4.

partis causidici succumberent, morte mulctarentur: patrocinabatur Samaritis Sabbæus cum Theodosio, Hierosolymitanis Iudæis Andronicus Messalimi filius. ——— *cùm Sabbæus & Theodosius cessissent Andronico ut prior diceret, ortus ex lege probare ejus sanctitatem & religionem, ostendensq; per continuas Pontificum successiones, sacerdotij usque in sua tempora propagationem, & ab omnibus Asiæ Regibus majestatem ejus loci honoratam donarijs: Garizitani verò ac si omninò nullum esset, nunquam ab his habitam rationem: his & talibus rationibus persuasit regi, ut decerneret Hierosolymitanum esse ex sententia Moysi conditum, Sabbæum verò & Theodosium addiceret supplicio.* Englished thus: It came to passe that the Jewes of *Alexandria* and the Samaritanes that brought in the service and worship of the Temple upon mount *Garizim* under *Alexander* the great, fell at odds and debated their differences before *Ptolomie*. For the Jewes said that the Temple in *Hierusalem* builded according to *Moses* lawes was the lawfull Temple; but the Samaritanes maintained that which was builded on mount *Garizim* was the true Temple. They therefore besought the King to sit in judgement with the assistance of his friends to heare their allegations in this behalfe, and to condemne the party unto death who should be found faulty. Now the Advocates which pleaded for the Samaritanes were *Sabbæus* and *Theodosius*: and *Andronicus* defended the cause of those of *Hierusalem*, and the other Jewes. And both of them

in

in the Kings preſence ſwore by God, that they would bring their proofes according to the law, beſeeching *Ptolomie* to adjudge him to death [a], whom he ſhould find to have falſified his oath. The King therefore ſate down to heare the cauſe and determine the difference. But the Jewes of *Alexandria* were ſore moved and diſpleaſed againſt them, that had drawn the preheminence of the Temple in *Hieruſalem* into queſtion, and were highly diſcontent that a Temple ſo antient and famous, and ſo eſteemed and honoured through the whole world, ſhould in ſuch ſort be diſgraced. When as the day of audience was come, *Sabbæus* and *Theodoſius* permitted *Andronicus* to declaime firſt: who began to approve the lawfulneſſe, holineſſe, and religion of the Temple in *Hieruſalem* out of the Law, and by the ſucceſſive government of the *High Prieſts*, who from father to ſonne, and from hand to hand had received this honour; therein alleaging that all the Kings of *Aſia* had honoured the Majeſty of that place with preſents and rich oblations: whereas the Temple of *Garizim* had not beene in any eſtimation: By this and ſuch like words, *Andronicus* perſwaded the King, that the Temple of *Hieruſalem* was builded according to the ordinance of *Moyſes*, inviting him to judge *Sabbæus* and *Theodoſius* to death.

[a] Much like our ignorant zealots who will hazard their ſalvation in defence of ſchiſme.

Cap. IX.

That there hath beene, and must be a continued Succession of Bishops in the Church from the Apostles, proved by the authority of ancient Fathers.

CLemens Romanus, having made knowen, that the Apostles did foresee contention would arise touching *Episcopacy*, telleth us that for the very same cause they Ordeined *Bishops*, and left a setled Order of Offices and Ministers, that when they should depart this life, others well approved might succeed them, and performe their charge and Ministery [a]: *Ac descriptas deinceps ministrorum officiorum q, vices reliquerunt, ut in defunctorum locum alii viri probati succedere, & illorum ministeriam exequi possent*. By which it is evident, that *Succession* by *Bishops* tooke place from the Apostles themselves, and by their owne appointment and institution.

a Ep. ad Cor. *loco citat. supra* pag. 12.

Irenæus, of that venerable Antiquity, that he did see some who were disciples to the blessed Apostles, most emphatically presseth the necessity of *Succession*, and positively affirmeth, that we must adhere to such as can deduce their calling by *Succession* from some of the Apostles, and that by *Succession* of *Bishops*. And contrariwise to deeme of such who are averse to *Succession*

on, applying themſelves to Conventicles, as heretickes, ſchiſmatickes, men of corrupt minds, proud, walkers after their owne luſts, or hypocrites which hunt after gaine or vaine glory. All which (ſaith this ancient Father) do depart from the truth; and all ſuch heretickes as bring ſtrange fire to the Altar of the Lord viz. by introducing ſtrange and unwholſome doctrines, ſhall be burnt with fire from Heaven[a]: *Eũ qui in Eccleſia ſunt Presbyterũ obaudire oportet, hũ qui ſucceſſionem habent ab Apoſtolis, ſicut oſtendimus, qui cum Epiſcopatũ ſucceſſione charisma veritatis certum, ſecundum placitum patris acceperunt. Reliquos verò qui abſiſtunt a principali ſucceſſione & quocunq; loco colliguntur, ſuſpectos habere, vel quaſi hereticos, & malæ ſententiæ, vel quaſi ſcindentes & elatos, & ſibi placentes, aut rurſus ut hypocritas, quæſtus gratia & vanæ gloriæ hoc operantes. Omnes autem hi decidunt a veritate. Et hæretici quidem alienum ignem afferentes ad altare Dei, id eſt, alienas doctrinas a cœleſti igne comburentur, quemadmodum Nadab & Abihu.* Againe[b]: *Agnitio veræ eſt* (ſaith he) *Apoſtolorum doctrina, & antiquus Eccleſiæ ſtatus, in univerſo mundo, & charactere corporis Chriſti, ſecundũ ſucceſſiones Epiſcoporum &c.* A ſure ground to detect hereſies, is the Doctrine of the Apoſtles, and the ancient Condition of the Church throughout the whole world, and the Character of the body of Chriſt, according to the *Succeſſion* of *Biſhops* &c. A good leſſon for theſe corrupt and ſeditious times, when as the pure doctrine

a Iren. lib. 4. cap. 43.

b Iren. lib. 4. cap. 63.

doctrine of the Apoſtles (which hath not the leaſt colour of correſpondency with the beggerly rudiments of our *New Maſters*) and the undeniable authority of the ancient Catholique Church, are no more eſteemed among our tumultuous and *Rebellious rabble*, then a feined tale out of ſome fabulous Legend. But, that Epiſcopall Succeſſion is Apoſtolicall, and was ſo taken to be by the whole Church in the Primitive, and therefore pureſt times thereof, this ancient and unſpotted Author giveth this moſt cleare and pregnant evidence [b]: *Traditionem Apoſtolorum in toto mundo manifeſtatam in eccleſia adeſt perſpicere omnibus qui vera velint audire, & habemus annumerare eos qui ab Apoſtolis inſtituti ſunt Epiſcopi in eccleſiis, & ſucceſſores eorum uſq; ad nos, qui nihil tale docuerunt, neque cognoverunt, quale ab his deliratur.* All that deſire to be informed of the truth, may eaſily diſcerne the Tradition of the Apoſtles manifeſted throughout the whole Church: and we can reckon up thoſe who have beene inſtituted *Biſhops* by the Apoſtles themſelves, and their ſeverall *Succeſſours* downe to our times, who neither taught nor knew any ſuch thing, as theſe men dreame of. This may moſt aptly be applyed to thoſe among us, who in moſt parts of this Nation ſophiſtically blind and delude the vulgar and ignorant people, with new and diabolicall rudiments, expreſſely contrary to the doctrine of the Apoſtles, and the conſtant practice of the Catholicke

b Id. l. 3. c. 3.

tholicke Church. The same *Irenæus* proceeds, saying, that the Apostles did impart such hidden mysteries as were revealed to them, unto those to whom they committed the charge and care of the Church, to the end that they might be most unblameable, whom the Apostles left to succeed them, and to supply their place of chiefe rule and government in the Church[a]: *Etenim si recondita mysteria scissent Apostoli, quæ seorsim & latenter a reliquis perfectos docebant, his vel maximè traderent ea, quibus etiam ipsos ecclesias committebant: valde enim perfectos & irreprehensibiles in omnibus eos volebant esse, quos & successores relinquebant suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes.* And for that the most flourishing Church was then at *Rome*, he doth enumerate all the Bishops of *Rome* successively from the Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, by whom the same Church was founded, unto *Eleutherius* who was living when *Irenæus* wrote, and was the twelfth *Bishop* thereof from the Apostles; He also by *Succession* of *Bishops* taketh upon him to stop the mouthes of all those that through selfe opinion, vaine glory, or ignorance, dare to broach new and schismaticall doctrines[b]: *Sed quoniam valde longum est, in hoc tali volumine omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones, maximæ & antiquissimæ, & omnibus cognitæ a gloriosissimis duobus Apostolis Petro & Paulo Romæ fundatæ & constitutæ ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab Apostolis traditionem, & annunciatam hominibus fidem, per successiones Episcoporum pervenientem*

[a] *ubi supra.*

[b] *Vbi supra.*

pervenientem uſque ad nos, indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, qui quoquo modo vel per ſui placentiam malam, vel vanam gloriam, vel per cæcitatem & malã ſententiam præterquam oportet colligunt. But becauſe it is too tedious to reckon up the ſeverall Succeſſions of all the Churches, we will inſtance onely that of *Rome*, being the moſt antient, eminent, & beſt knowen Church, founded by the moſt glorious Apoſtles *Peter* and *Paul*, where we find the faith to be revealed, being now deſcended downe to us through the Succeſſion of Biſhops, which Succeſſion we being able to ſet forth, we thereby utterly overthrow all ſuch as through ſelfe-opinion, vaine glory, ignorance, or perverſenes mainteine any ſtrange doctrines. And by the like Succeſſion of Biſhops in our Church, we may eaſily ſtoppe the mouthes of all blind ſchiſmaticks, who through pride, ignorance, and ſelfe-conceit, not onely labour to maintaine ſeditious doctrines tending to rebellion againſt God, the Church, and their Soveraigne, but alſo as they themſelves commonly doe, ſo they ſeduce and perſwade others to renounce and utterly abandon this approved marke of the true Church, *Succeſſion*, and to depend upon a *Church independant*, a moſt abſurd and ſchiſmaticall tenent, and abominated by the Catholique Church for the ſpace of above fifteene hundred yeares after Chriſt. But although this independant Church be not yet (nor ever will) come to perfection: Sure it is, that their

that their *independent obedience*, I had almost said most unnaturall and unchristianlike rebellion, being without any relation to our *Soveraigne*, or any authority derived from him, is at its full growth, and with Gods blessing, will in his good time become so farre in the wane, as that most part of the misled and infatuated subjects within this late florishing Kingdome of *England* will open their eies and returne to that loyalty and *dependent* obedience, as by the expresse law of God, and that grand tye of their allegiance, they are obliged unto. And lest that any should dreame, that this Succession so strongly urged by *Irenæus* is no other then a continued supply of Ministers, as they are usually termed, or some other such like fancy or *Chimæra*, he layeth downe a compleat Catalogue of all the Bishops of *Rome* unto his time, by which it will manifestly appeare that this Succession consisteth onely of *Bishops*, heare his owne account:

[2] *Fundantes & instruentes beati Apostoli ecclesiam, Lino Episcopatū administrandæ ecclesiæ tradiderunt. Hujus Lini Paulus in his quæ sunt ad Timotheum Epistolis meminit. Successit ei Anacletus: post eum tertio loco ab Apostolis Episcopatum sortitur Clemens, qui & vidit ipsos Apostolos & contulit cum eis cum adhuc insonantem prædicationem Apostolorum & traditionem ante oculos haberet. ——Huic Clementi succedit Evaristus, & Evaristo Alexander, ac deinceps sextus ab Apostolis constitutus est Sixtus, & ab hoc Telesphorus, qui etiam gloriosissimè martyrium fecit*

ubi supra.

Linus:

Anacletus.

Clemens.

Evaristus.

Alexander.

Sixtus.

Telesphorus.

Hyginus.

Pius.

Anicetus. Soter. Eleutherius.

fecit, ac deinceps Hyginus, poſt Pius, poſt quem Anicetus. Cum autem ſucceſſit Aniceto Soter, nunc duodecimo loco Epiſcopatum ab Apoſtolis habet Eleutherius. The bleſſed Apoſtles having founded the Church of *Rome*, committed the government of the ſame to *Linus* Biſhop thereof. Of this *Linus* S. *Paul* makes mention in his Epiſtles to *Timothy*. *Anacletus* ſucceeded him: after whom *Clement* was Biſhop in the third place from the Apoſtles; who both ſaw the Apoſtles and converſed with them, being an eare and eie-witneſſe of the Preaching and Tradition of the Apoſtles. *Evariſtus* was next after *Clement*, and *Alexander* after *Evariſtus*, and then *Sixtus* was conſtituted the ſixth Biſhop from the Apoſtles, after him *Teleſphorus* who alſo died a moſt glorious Martyr, then *Hyginus*, and after that *Pius*, then *Anicetus*, whom *Soter* having ſucceeded, *Eleutherius* is now the twelfth Biſhop ſince the Apoſtles. We may alſo take notice, that Succeſſion of Biſhops was of ſo high eſteeme in the daies of *Irenæus*, that he did often take occaſion to touch upon it, for having but onely named *Hyginus* upon another occaſion, he addeth it as a Character unto him, and maketh it as it were one of his titles [b]: *Sub hoc Hygino* (ſaith he) *qui nonum locum Epiſcopatus per ſucceſſionem ab Apoſtolis habuit.* Vnder this *Hyginus* the ninth Biſhop *ſucceſſively* from the Apoſtles. Of ſo great account was *ſucceſſion* of *Biſhops* in the Primitive Church; and how little it is now regarded, is beyond admi-

[b] *Id. lib. 1. cap. 8.*

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ration; but in this appeareth a manifeſt and apparent difference betweene the pure Church in the Primitive times, and our ſchiſmaticall Synagogues at this preſent.

Tertullian adverti ſeth to diſtinguiſh divine truth from humane falſhood by this rule [a], *Ex ipſo ordine manifeſtatur, id eſſe Dominicum & verum, quod ſit prius traditum: id autem extraneum & falſum quod ſit poſterius immiſſum.* It is manifeſt from the order of time, that that is divine and true, which was firſt delivered; and that heterodoxe and falſe which crept in in later times. But if any (ſaith he) ſhall dare to ſupport their hereſies, by averring them to be beleeved and taught of ſome in the Apoſtles time, and by that means ſhall colourably ſeeme to ſhrowd them ſelves under Apoſtolicall antiquity, that ſo they may be thought to be Apoſtolicall in regard they were *in eſſe* in the Apoſtles time, we have this to ſay for our ſelves, Let them ſhew the originall of their Churches, let them ſearch out the Series or order of their Biſhops, deſcending fró the firſt foundation, whereby it may appeare that their firſt Biſhop was either an Apoſtle or an Apoſtolicall man, and ſo prove their Church to be Apoſtolicall; As the Church of *Smyrna* which had *Polycarpus* Biſhop thereof placed there by S. *Iohn*, and as the Church of *Rome*, of which *Clement* was ordained Biſhop by S. *Peter*, and as other Churches which from one *Biſhop* to another can derive themſelves ſucceſſively from

[a] Tert. de præſcrip. adverſus hæret; circa med.

some of the Apostles: But let us see what hereticke can so do [a]: *Cæterum si quæ audent interserere sæcati Apostolicæ, ut ideo videantur ab Apostolis traditæ, quia sub Apostolis fuerunt: possumus dicere: Edant ergo origines ecclesiarũ suarũ: evolvant ordinẽ Episcoporum suorum, ita per successiones ab initio decurrentem, ut primus ille Episcopus aliquem ex Apostolis vel Apostolicis viris, qui tamen cum Apostolis perseveraverit, habuerit authorem et antecessorem: Hoc enim modo ecclesiæ Apostolicæ census suos deferunt: sicut Smyrnæorum ecclesia habens Polycarpum ab Joanne collocatum refert: sicut Romanorum Clementem a Petro ordinatum edit: proinde utique et cætera exhibent, quos ab Apostolis in Episcopatum constitutos, Apostolici seminis traduces habeant: Confingant tale aliquid hæretici.* And the selfe same answer may we returne to our Brownists, Anabaptists, Aerians, and other schismatickes; let them produce any succession of *Bishops* from the Apostles, for their Conventicles (Churches I cannot call them) or of such, who from the Apostles dayes have successively taught their doctrines; which if they cannot do, no unpassionate Christian, and who hath not wilfully forsaken his own reason and understanding, will (in flat opposition to the Catholicke Church) adhere to such [b] *deceitfull workers, transforming themselves into the Apostles of Christ*, or regard any their new rudiments, be they never so plausible or seemingly religious: let them pretend what purity they can; *Satan* [c], we know, is *transformed* into

a Vbi supra.

b 2. Corinth 11. ver. 13.

c 2. Cor. 11. 14.

into an Angell of light: and Solomon[d] telleth us there is a generation that are pure in their own eyes, and yet is not washed from their filthinesse: let them faine and dreame what they please, that Church which cannot derive it selfe by a continued succession of Bishops from some of the Apostles or Apostolicke men, can in no wise be accounted any part or member of the Catholicke Church. He therefore spake truth, who said, *miserable were we, if he that now sitteth Archbishop of Canterbury could not derive his succession from S. Augustine, S. Augustine from S. Gregory, S. Gregory from S. Peter.*

[d] Prov. 30. 12.

D. P.

S. Cyprian as a learned Bishop and worthy member of the Catholicke Church presseth this argument of succession against the heretick *Novatus*, affirming him to be neither a Bishop, nor so much as a member of the Church, for that in contempt of Apostolike tradition, he set up himselfe and did not succeed any other[a]. *Novatianus in Ecclesia non est, nec Episcopus computari potest, qui Evangelica & Apostolica traditione contempta, nemini succedens, a seipso ordinatus est:* Againe he intimateth, that there being but one Catholike Church, all true Pastors must be ordained in that Church, where there is a lawfull succession, for otherwise they can be no members of the Church, but are aliens and prophane, and enemies to divine peace and unity[b]. *Si grex unus est* (saith he) *quomodo potest gregi annumerari, qui in numero gregis non est, aut pastor haberi quomodo potest,*

[a] Lib. 1. Epist. 6.

[b] Vbi supra.

test qui manente vero pastore, & in ecclesia Dei ordinatione succedaneâ præsidente nemini succedens, & a seipso incipiens, alienus sit & prophanus, dominicæ pacis ac divinæ unitatis, non habitans in domo Dei, id est, in ecclesia Dei, in qua non nisi concordes atq; unanimes habitant. If this were duly considered there would not so many of our *Novatian* Clerkes runne out of the Church, or rather forbeare to come into it, by a lawfull ordination from such, who by a rightfull succession correspondent to Apostolicall institution are the true Pastors of the Church, and have power to confer the same.

Eusebius Pamphilus [a] having related, that S. *James* his Chaire was with great diligence preserved at *Hierusalem* unto his time, further saith that all those, who succeeded *S. James* untill that present, sate therein, and was therefore had in high estimation: *Atque in ea sedente omnes qui usq; ad præsens tempus sedis illius sacerdotium sortiuntur Servatur ergo cum ingenti studio, velut à majoribus traditâ memoriâ sanctitatis, & cum magna veneratione habetur vel vetustatis, vel primi sacerdotis sanctificationis obtentu.* Of so great account was succession of *Bishops* in the daies of *Eusebius* that the very Chaire was in venerable request, in which the first and all succeeding *Bishops* sate. But this was not spoken to the end that any holinesse should be ascribed to the Chaire, but to set forth the dignity of those who sate therein, & to shew the antiquity, & indeed necessity of *Succession* by *Bishops*.

[a] *Lib. 7. Eccles. Hist. cap. 15. secundum antiquum exemplar M.S.*

Lucifer

Lucifer Calaritanus preſſing the *Arrian* Emperour *Conſtantius* to become orthodoxe, inviteth him to hold the ſame faith, and to concurre in opinion with thoſe *Biſhops* who were able to make good their calling by *Succeſſion from the bleſſed Apoſtles* [a]: *Crede* (ſaith he) *ſicuti credimus & nos, qui ex beatorum Apoſtolorum ſucceſſione ſumus Epiſcopi &c.*

Liberius in his Epiſtle to the ſame Emperour *Conſtantius* [b], ingeniouſly profeſſed, that he did moſt heartily deſire to continue firme and conſtant in that faith which deſcended to him by ſucceſſion of *Biſhops*, many whereof were Martyrs: his words are; —— *Et illam fidem ſervans, quæ per ſucceſſionem tantorum Epiſcoporum cucurrit, ex quibus plures martyres extiterunt, illibatam cuſtodiri ſemper exopto.* An infallible ground though moſt impudently vilified by our fiery zealots and furious pretenders of reformation, by meanes whereof they run into all manner of hereſies †, coyning new Creedes, new doctrines and new opinions, as if the moſt antient and renowned fathers and pillars of the Church, many whereof were holy Saints and Martyrs, had not underſtood any certaine rule of their faith; and as if all venerable Antiquity were become obſolete, and worthy to be cancelled and utterly exploded.

Optatus writing againſt *Parmenianus* the Donatiſt [c], informeth him, that every true Church hath a continued ſucceſſion of *Biſhops* therein; where

a *Lib. 1. ad Conſtantium pag. 52.*

b *Circa medium.*

† *Qui plantatus non eſt præceptis dei patris & monitis, ſolus poterit de eccleſia ille deſcedere, ſolus Epiſcopis derelictis cum ſchiſmaticis & hæreticis in furore manere. Cypryan. lib. 2. epi. 8.*

c *Lib. 2. prope initium.*

where he giveth a Catalogue of all the Bishops of *Rome*, unto *Siricius* who succeeded *Damasus*, and was the then present Bishop. He also maketh this challenge to the *Donatists*, *Vestra cathedra vos originem reddite, qui vobis vultis sanctam ecclesiam vindicare*. Shew the foundation of your Church, all yee that ascribe so much holines to your [*independent*] Congregation. In like manner, may we say to all our independent Donatisticall brood: Shew us the beginning of your Church. This indeed they may easily doe, and rather then faile, erect a new Conventicle in an instant, differing in many particulars from all that precede: But if we should require them to prove their succession from the Apostles, they are either mute; or els, they take occasion as farre as in them lies, to vilifie and disparage all the approved fathers of the antient Catholicke Church, and consequently the authority of the whole Church, they having no other colour of defence for their most grosse and apparant defection; it being utterly repugnant in it selfe, that their independant Synagogues (being inconsistent with Episcopall goverment, and consequently opposite to all true Churches) should take their rise, or challenge any regularity from the Apostles, or any Apostolicall institution.

Saint *Basil*[d] doth exhort the Church of *Neocæsarea* to pray for a successive continuation of such cheife Pastors among them, as they had formerly enjoyed one after another unto that present,

[d] *Epist. 62 post medium.*

preſent, whereby they might be defended from dogs and wolves the miniſters of Satan, who in moſt places worry and prey upon the flocke of Chriſt, being *transformed as the miniſters of righteouſnes*, and maſking their fraud under pretence of ſanctity. *Multi ſunt canes* (ſaith he) *Quid dico canes? Imo lupi graves, qui ſub pratexta ovicularum fraudem tegentes, ubiq; terrarum gregem Chriſti diſſipant, qui vobis præſidio vigilantis cujuſdam paſtoris cavendi ſunt. Hunc animis ab omni contentione & ambitione repurgatis, petere veſtrum eſt; Domini verò deſignare, qui a tempore magni præſidis eccleſiæ veſtræ Gregorij uſq; ad beatum iſtum, alium poſt alium ſemper, quaſi ex quadam pretioſorum lapidum ſerie, depromptos adjiciens & adaptans admirabilem eccleſiæ veſtræ pulchritudinem largitus eſt.* There are many dogs; why ſay I dogs? yea ravening wolves, that diſſembling their cunning under ſheepes clothing, do all the world over ſcatter the flocke of Chriſt; of whom you, being aided by the induſtry of a watchfull Shepheard, ought to beware. And that you may obtain ſuch a one, it reſts on your part with all humility to pray, and the Lords to beſtow; who ever ſince the time of that reverend *Prelate Gregory*, even to this preſent worthy man, hath wonderfully adorn'd your Church with a continued and ſucceſſive ſeries of *Biſhops* as ſo many pretious ſtones.

Gregory Nazianzen[a] writing in the praiſe of *Athanaſius*, giveth him this commendation, that *Non per vim ac cædem, ſed Apoſtolicè & ſpiritualiter*

[a] *Orat. in laudē Athanaſij, prope initium.*

ter ad Marci thronum evehitur, non minùs pietatis quàm primaria ſedis ſucceſſor. That he was not by force of armes advanced to S. *Markes* Chaire, but ſpiritually and Apoſtolically, ſucceeding him as well in piety, as in dignity. An evident teſtimony that S. *Marke* was the firſt Biſhop of Alexandria, and that *Athanaſius* attained to the ſame Biſhopricke as ſucceſſor to thoſe who ſucceeded S. *Marke*, and was therefore ſaid *ad Marci thronum evehi*, to be advanced to the throne or chaire of S. *Marke*.

b *Contra Manichæos, Sect. 66.*

Epiphanius b teſtifieth, that S. *Iames* the brother of our Lord was the firſt Biſhop of *Hieroſalem*. where he alſo recordeth the names of all thoſe holy *Biſhops*, who ſucceſſively ſate in S. *Iames* his chaire, unto *Hilarion* the then preſent *Biſhop*.

c Epiſt. ad Evagrium circa medium

S. *Hierome* c confirmeth the teſtimony of *Epiphanius*, ſaying that the *Presbyters* at *Alexandria* ever ſince S. *Marke* the Evangeliſt, untill the time of *Heraclas* & *Dionyſius* Biſhops there, have alwaies elected one from among themſelves, whom they placed in an higher degree and called him *Biſhop*. *Nam et Alexandriæ a Marco Evangeliſta uſq; ad Heraclam & Dionyſium Epiſcopos, Presbyters ſemper unum de ſe electum in excelſiori gradu collocatum, Epiſcopum nominabant.* And this (ſaith he) was done, as if an army ſhould elect their Generall: *Quomodo ſi exercitus imperatorem faciat.*

S. *Auguſtine*, as others before him, recounteth

teth all the Bishops of *Rome* from S. *Peter* unto *Anastasius* the then present Bishop, the like succession (saith he) no Donatist can produce[a]: *In hoc ordine successionis nullus Donatista Episcopus invenitur.* He also declaring the motives or perswasions, which held him within the pale of the Church, among divers others, instanceth *succession* of *Bishops*, as not one of the least[b]: *Tenet consensio populorum atq; gentium, tenet auctoritas miraculis inchoata, spe nutrita, charitate aucta, vetustate firmata: Tenet ab ipsa sede Petri Apostoli, cui pascendas oves suas post resurrectionem Dominus commendavit, usq; ad præsentē Episcopatum successio sacerdotum, Tenet postremò ipsum catholicæ nomen, quod non sine causa inter tam multas hæreses sic ista ecclesia sola obtinuit, ut cum omnes hæretici se catholicos dici velint; quærenti tamen peregrino alicui, ubi ad catholicam conveniatur, nullus hæreticorum vel basilicam suam, vel domum audeat ostendere.* The unanimous consent of Nations, the authority begun by miracles, fomented by hope, enlarged by charity, and confirmed by antiquity: keepes me within the pale of the Church. So likewise doth the *succession* of Preists from S. *Peter* the Apostle, to whom the Lord after his resurrection commended the feeding of his sheepe even to this present *Bishop*. Lastly, the very name of *Catholique* perswades me, which among so many heresies, this Church onely hath obtained. Though all hereticks would gladly be accounted Catholiques, yet, if any stranger

[a] S. August. Epist. 165.

[b] Contra Epist. Manichæi, quam vocant Fundamenti. Tom. 6. prope initium.

ſhall demand where the Catholicks are aſſembled; none of theſe hereticks will preſume to direct him to their owne Congregation. But the Tenents of our new Doctors, do ſo well accord with the reverend opinion and judgment of this worthy Father, that (notwithſtanding they with their adherents, aſſume to themſelves the title of the onely Catholique Chriſtians, yet) the very ſame inducements, which kept him in the Church, do hunt both them and their Proſelytes quite out of the Church: ſo aptly do the new fangled opinions of our ignorant and ſchiſmaticall zealots, accord with the antient Catholique Church, and the learned and religious Biſhops and Doctors thereof.

Many more authorities for ſucceſſion might be produced, but theſe already alleadged, I hope, are of ſufficient weight to ſatiſfy any unpaſſionate and unprejudicate reader: I will only therefore lay downe a few ſucceſſions of Patriarkes and Biſhops, in ſome of the Apoſtolicall, and other inferiour Sees, derived from Apoſtolicke men, as they are regiſtred by ſundry Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtorians, and other antient writers of the Church.

Hierusalem.	Antioch.
S. Iames[a] the Apost.	S. Peter[b] the Apostle.
Simeon Cleopha filius.	Evodius.
Iustus.	Ignatius.
Zacheus.	Heros[c].
Tobias.	Cornelius[d].
Benjamin.	Theophilus.
Iohannes. &c.	Maximinus[e]. &c.
Alexandria.	**Constantinople.**
S. Marke[a] the Evang.	S. Andrew[a] Apost.
Anianus.	Stachys.
Abilius[b].	Onesimus.
Cerdo[c].	Polycarpus.
Primus[d].	Plutarchus.
Iustus[e].	Sedecion.
Eumenes[f]. &c.	Diogenes, &c.

a Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 4. c. 5.

a Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 2. c. 24.
b Idem lib. 3. cap. 13.
c Idem lib. 3. cap. 21.
d Idem lib. 4. c. 1.
e Idem lib. 4. cap. 4.
f Idem lib. 4. cap. 5.

b Euseb. Eccl. hist. lib. 3. c. 22.
c Idem lib. 3. cap 37.
d Idem lib. 4. cap. 20.
e Idem lib. 4. cap. 24.

a Niceph. lib. 2. c. 6.

I have purposely omitted to pursue the severall successions before mentioned, in regard they are extant in sundry Authors, both antient and moderne. By which as by a line we may be guided to observe what manner of Episcopall successions other Churches enjoyed: as also by that of *Tours* in *France*, where *Gratianus* sate the first *Bishop* in the first yeare of the Emperour *Decius*, from whom *Gregory Turonensis* hath drawne a fineall succession to his owne times as also that of *Auvergne* where *Austremonius* was the first *Bishop* in the yeare as before recorded by the same *Gregory*.

Tours.	Auvergne.
Gratianus [a].	Auſtremonius [b].
Littorius.	Vrbicus [c].
Martinus.	Legonus.
Brictius.	Hillidius [d].
Euſtochius.	Nepotianus.
Perpetuus.	Artemius [e].
Valuſianus.	Venerandus [a].
Verus.	Ruſticus.
Licinius.	Namatius [b].
Theodorus et Proculus.	Eparchius [c].
Dionyſius.	Sidonius.
Ommatius.	Aprunculus [d].
Leo.	Euphraſius. [e]
Francilio.	Apollinaris.
Injurioſus.	Quintianus.
Baudinus.	Gallus [f].
Guntharius.	Cautinus [g].
Eufronius.	Avitus.
Gregorius [b].	

a Greg. Tur. Hiſt. Gall. lib. 10. cap. 30

b Idem lib. 10. c. 31.

b Greg. Tur. lib. 1. cap. 28.
c Idem lib. 1. cap. 39.
d Idem lib. 1. cap. 40.
e Idem lib. 1. cap. 41.
a Idem lib. 2. cap. 13.
b Idem lib. 2. cap. 16.
c Idem lib. 2. cap. 21.
d Idem lib. 2. cap. 23.
e Idem lib. 3. cap. 2.
f Idem lib. 4. cap. 5.
g Idem lib. 4. cap. 7.

And immediately after *Lucius* the firſt Chriſtian King had received the faith of Chriſt (according to the common received opinion) wee finde *Biſhops* were placed in ſeverall Sees in this Iland: though the order of their ſucceſſions be ſomewhat abrupt and imperfect, being either neglected by Hiſtorians, or worne out by long tract of time: yet theſe few *Biſhops* wee meete within the See of *London*, the then Metropolitan and

ind chiefe Church in the Kingdome, as they are collected by *Iocelin* of *Furnes* in his booke of *Brytish Bishops*.

Theanus [h] ordained by *Elutherius*.	*Iltutus*.
Elvanus.	*Theodwinus* or *Dedwin*.
Cadar.	*Theodredus* or *Thedred*.
Obinus.	*Hilarius*.
Canianus.	*Guidelinus* or *Guithelinus*.
Paludius.	*Vodinus*.
Stephanus.	*Theonus* or *Theanus*.

[h] Sicow. Annal. pag. 39. *Vide etiam reverendiss. Archiepisc. Armach. Brit. Eccl. Antiq. c. 5.*

By this handfull, as by the whole body it may be discerned how carefull the most ancient Churches have beene to preserve the succession of their *Bishops*, as they were derived from the Apostles and Apostolicke men, being a visible note or badge that they were members of the Catholicke Church, and that in all antiquity there is no ground or authority for independent Churches.

Cap. IX.

Cap. X.

Certaine Objections against Episcopacy answered.

Ob. 1.

That there is no difference betweene the office of a Bishop and Presbyter, for that the Scripture seemes to make them both as one.

IT is to be understood, that there are in the Church two sorts of Elders, Superiour, and Inferiour in degrees of Office: of which the Inferiour did governe the people or Laity; the other, both Clergy & Laity. And for that they did both superintend (though in a divers station) either of them were indifferently stiled Bishops and Presbyters, and so both were denoted under one and the same title or appellation, such Elders as did onely oversee and feed the Laity, being somtimes called Bishops or Superintendents, as Act. 20. 17. compared with ver. 28. and Phil. 1. 1. and Bishops or Superintendents, which did oversee and governe the inferiour Clergy, aswell as the Laity, being somtimes called *Elders* or *Presbyters*, as Tit. 1. 5. compared with ver. 7. and so the word *Presbyter* with *Elder* was confounded.

Now

Now that these Elders mentioned Act. 20. 17. were none other then such as did oversee or superintend the Laity, appeareth out of the very text, ver. 28. where the Holy Ghost maketh an evident distinction betweene the Elders which were to feed, and the flocke which were to be fed: Bishops then or Superintendents those Elders were, but they were no more saving onely *Superintendentes Laicorum*. And that there were also *Bishops* (as we now call them) which did superintend both Clergy and Laity, I referre the Reader to that which hath beene already [a] said: And that such Bishops or Superintendents are understood by the word *Elders*, *Tit.* 1. 5. most of the ancient Expositors do accord. Saint *Chrysostome in Tit.* 1. [b] is very plaine, where he saith, *Episcopos hic intelligi vult, quemadmodum aliâs sæpe diximus.* [The Apostle] in this place would have us to understand *Bishops*, as I have oftentimes elsewhere said. And then giveth this reason [c]: *Neq; enim profectò volebat insulam totam uni viro permitti, sed unicuiq; propriam curam ac solicitudinem indici, ita enim sive laborem fore leviorem sciebat, et subditos majori diligentiâ gubernandos, siquidem Doctor non multarum ecclesiarum regimine distraheretur, sed uni tantum regendæ vacaret, eamque componere moribus atque ornare studeret.* Nor would he have the whole Iland to be left to one man, but that every one should have his proper charge and care; for by this means his trouble would be the lesse, & the peo-

a *supra* cap. 2. 3. & 4.

b Homil. 2. *pro principium.*

c Ibidem.

ple more diligently governed, so that a teacher should not be distracted with the care of many Churches, but should governe one Church onely, and endeavour to well order and adorne the same. By which words he inferreth *Titus* to be no lesse then an *Arch-Bishop*, seeing he was to ordaine *Bishops* in all the Cities of *Crete*. Likewise upon these words, *Epist. Phil. cap.* 1. [*with the Bishops and Deacons*] he thus writeth, [b] *Quid sibi vult? Itane unius civitatis plures erant Episcopi? Nequaquam; sub hoc titulo designat Presbyteros, tum enim temporis adhuc vocabulum erat commune, adeò ut Episcopus diceretur Diaconus, hoc est Minister, unde in Epistola ad Timotheum dicit, Imple Ministerium tuum, cum jam esset Episcopus.* what doth he meane? were there many Bishops in one City? Surely no, but by Bishops here he intends Presbyters, for at that time there was a community of appellation, insomuch that a Bishop was called Deacon, i. e. Minister, whence in the Epistle to *Timothy* he saith, fullfill thy ministery, even then when he was a Bishop. And then he proceedeth, *Ac rursus ad Titum scribens ait: Horum gratiâ reliqui te in Creta, ut constituas per civitates Presbyteros &c. de Episcopo loquitur, & hîc verbis mox subjecit hæc, oportet igitur Episcopum sine crimine esse, ut Dei dispensatorem &c. Igitur quemadmodum dixi, olim & Presbyteri vocabantur Episcopi ac Diaconi &c.* And againe writing unto *Titus* he saith, *For this cause left I thee in Crete, that thou should'st ordaine Elders in every Ci-*

[b] Homil. 2. prope initium. *Cum una civitas plures Episcopos habere non possit, sub Episcoporum nomine Presbyteros complexum est.* Rabanus Maurus de institutione Clericorum Lib. 1. cap. 6.

17 &c. he speakes there of Bishops, whence he addes these words following: *For a Bishop must be blameles as the steward of God &c.* wherefore (as I have already said) *Bishops* were antiently called both Elders and Deacons. This is also verified by S. *Hierome* writing thus upon the 2. Chap. of the Prophet *Haggai* —— *ad Titum quoq; super Presbyterii (quos & Episcopos intelligi vult) ordinandis, eadem cautela servatur.* The Apostle also writing to *Titus* saith, that the like caution is to be taken in the ordination of Presbyters, by whom he will have us to understand Bishops. Herewith also agree *Theodoret in Phil.* 1. 1. & *in* 1. *Tim.* 3. *Theophylact in Phil.* 1. 1. & *in Tit.* 1. 5. *Anselmus in Phil.* 1. 1. & *in Tit.* 1. 5. *Oecumenius in Phil.* 1. 1. & *in Tit.* 1. 5. *Bruno in Phil.* 1. 1. *in* 1 *Tim.* 3. 1. & *in Tit.* 1. 5. *Thomas Aquinas Secunda Secundæ Quæst.* 184. with many others.

The places of Scripture before cited, not being rightly understood, caused *Arius* (as also many others at this day) to dreame of a parity in the Clergy, and to imagine that there is no difference betweene the Office of a *Bishop* and a *Presbyter*, for which grosse and heretical assertion they have no more ground out of those texts, then if they should affirme, that S. *Peter* was but an Elder, because he so stileth himselfe, 1. *Pet.* 5. 1. and so conclude he was not an Apostle: or that S. *John* was neither Apostle, nor Evangelist, because he stileth himselfe Elder *Epist.* 2. and 3. ver. 1. or that S. *Paul* and *Tima-*

aby were no more but *Deacons*, because S. *Paul* calleth himselfe *Minister* or *Deacon Ephes.* 3. 7. and 1. *Cor.* 3. 5. and directeth *Timothy* to make full proofe of *Timothies his ministery* or Deaconship 2. *Tim.* 4. 5. By all which it appeareth to be a truth undeniable, that under the title of *Presbyters*, *Bishops* and Apostles also have beene denoted, as well as such whom we now call *Presbyters*. And that is the cause wherefore that antient and approved Father *Irenaeus* by *Presbyters* intended *Bishops*, *Lib.* 3. *cap.* 2. where he saith, *Cum autem ad eam iterum traditionem quae est ab Apostolis, quae per successiones Presbyterorum in ecclesiis custoditur, provocamus eos qui adversantur traditioni, dicent se non solum Presbyteris sed etiam Apostolis existentes sapientiores, sinceram invenisse veritatem. But when we presse them that are against the practice of antiquity by appealing to that tradition which is derived from the Apostles, and preserved in the Church by the succession of Presbyters, they will say that they alone have found out the truth, and that they are wiser then the Presbyters, yea then the very Apostles themselves.* Here this unquestioned orthodoxe Father by *Presbyters* intendeth such as in truth were, and such as he himselfe in the very next Chapter following, calleth *Bishops*: For that which he here saith was *per successiones Presbyterorum*, in the next Chapter [b] hee saith, was *per successiones Episcoporum*. And likewise elsewhere [a] hee hath to the same purpose a place already [b] cited. And S. *Chrysostome* [c] relateth

[b] Lib. 3. cap 3.
[c] Lib. 4 cap. 43.
[d] *supra* cap. 8
[e] Hom. 2. in Phil. cap. 1. 1.

teth, that upon the same ground many *Bishops* when they have written to another *Bishop*, have styled him fellow-Elder, and fellow-Minister, *unde nunc quoque* (saith he) *complures Episcopi cum ad Episcopum scribunt, consenioremque & compresbyterum appellant.* And *Theophylact* [m] giveth the reason, *Episcopos sacerdotes dicit, neq; enim plures præter unum erant Episcopi, qui singulis civitatibus præsiderent, quippe cum nondum essent hujusmodi nomina dispartita, sed Episcopi tantum Diaconi & Presbyteri dicebantur, &c. Hee calls the Priests Bishops, there being not many Bishops in one City, for whilst there was a community of titles, such as were onely Deacons or Presbyters, were also called Bishops.* But afterward, saith S[t] *Chrysostome*, either of them had his proper title assigned, One being called *Presbyter*, the other *Bishop*: *Post autem proprium cuique vocabulum tributum est, ut alius dicatur Presbyter, alius Episcopus.* Now the reason wherefore the word *Episcopus* was sometimes applyed to such as were *Presbyters* only, was for that (as is already said) they both did oversee or superintend, the one, the Laity and Clergy also, the other, the Laity onely. And if it be demanded how it came to passe that *Bishops* were sometimes called Elders or Presbyters, [n] *Hemingius* giveth this ready answer; *Græci, Presbyteros per metonymiam nominare consueverunt eos qui dignitatis gradu alios anteirent. The Grecians by a metonymie were accustomed to call those* Elders *which did excell others in any degree of dignity.*—— And so also did the

[m] In Phil. 1. 1.

[n] In Tit. 1. 5.

Hebrewes

Hebrewes usually stile their Magistrates, from whence the same title came to be applied unto Ecclesiasticall Governours, whether superiour or inferiour, and how different soever in degree of honour and authority in the Church. So that (notwithstanding Episcopall power or Episcopacy was erected) yet untill such time as the Church had gained a perfect regularity, and was settled and adorn'd with all her orders and offices, and every officer as it were listed, and confined to his settled place of exercising his function, those Apellations of *Presbyter* and *Episcopus* were attributed as well to one, as the other.

But I call to mind, that some there are who confidently affirme the distinction of *Clergy* and *Laity* to be Popish and Antichristian: I will therefore instance some Testimonies of the most antient and eminent Fathers of the Church, by which it will undeniably appeare, that the same distinction hath beene generally admitted and approved even from the Apostles times downe to this day.

Clemens an Apostolicall man[a] distinguisheth the people from the Preists by the word Laity or Lay-men, *Summo Sacerdoti sua munera tributa sunt, Sacerdotibus locus proprius assignatus est, & Levitis sua ministeria incumbunt:* † *Laicus praceptis laicis constringitur &c.* The high Preist hath his peculiar function, and so have the Preists & Levites also: and the Lay man is tied to the observance of Lay Constitutions &c.

[a] Epist. ad Corinth. pag. 53.

† Ὁ λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς λαϊκοῖς προστάγμασι δέδεται.

Ignatius

Ignatius [b] another Apostolicall man, is very plaine, *Quemadmodum Dominus sine patre nihil fecit, —sic & vos nan sine Episcopo, nec Presbyter, nec Diaconus, nec Laicus.* As the Lord doth nothing without the Father; so neither doth the Presbyter, Deacon, or Lay-man without the Bishop. Againe, *Laici Diaconis subjiciantur, Diaconi Presbyteris, Presbyteri Episcopo* [c]. Let the Laicks be subject to the Deacons, The Deacons to the Presbyters, and they to the Bishops.

Justine Martyr not much otherwise, *Filiam sacerdotis fornicantem* [*lex*] *igni cremavit,* [d] *Laici* (or *popularis*) *autem viri lapidibus enecat.* The Law condemnes a Preists daughter committing fornication to be burned, but a lay-mans to be stoned to death.

Tertullian thus [e], *Dandi* [*baptismum*] *jus habet summus sacerdos qui est Episcopus, dehinc Presbyteri & Diaconi, —— quo salvo salva pax est, aliaquin etiam Laicis jus est.* The cheife Preist principally hath the power to baptise, after him the Presbyters and Deacons.

Clemens Alexandrinus upon these words of S. *Paul, Volo minores nubere, filios procreare, &c.* I will therefore that the younger women marry, beare Children &c. thus [f], *Quin & unum quoq; ait virum uti* [Apostolus] *admittit, seu sit Presbyter, seu Diaconus, seu Laicus, utens matrimonio citra reprehensionem.* The Apostle allowes a man to have one wife, whether he be Presbyter, Deacon, or Lay-man, not abusing holy Matrimony.

Origen

[b] Epist. ad Magnes. circa medium.

[c] Epist. ad Smyrn. ante finem.

[d] Τὴν δὲ τῶν λαϊκῶν ἀνδρός. Respons. ad 97. Quæst. Orthodox.

[e] De Baptismo ante finem.

[f] Lib. 3. Strom. ante finem.

Origen more perspicuously g, *Nos qui putamur aliquid esse, id est, qui in clericatûs vobis ordine præsidentes, in tantum ut quidam de minori gradu ad hunc locum cupiant pervenire, nôsse debetis non statim in eo esse salvandos, quia clerici sumus, multi enim & Presbyteri pereunt, & Laici beatissimi reperiuntur, sed si ordinem clericatûs & meremur patiter & habeamus &c.* you ought to know, that we of the Clergy, who seeme to be of some repute, as being set over you, insomuch that many desire to be advanced to this our function, shall not therefore be saved, because wee are Clergy men, for many Presbyters perish, and many Lay-men are crowned with perpetuall blisse; but we shall be saved if we deservedly enter into holy Orders &c. And a little after, *Plus à me exigitur quàm à Diacono, plus à Diacono, quàm a Laico.* There is more required of mee then of a Deacon, and more of a Deacon then of a Lay-man.

g Hom. 7. in cap. 12. & 13. Hierem. Prope initium.

Cyprian in like manner h, *Quod ad Romanum Clerum plenissimè scripsi: —— nobis placat, sit collatione consiliorum cum Episcopis, Presbyteris, Diaconis, Confessoribus pariter, ac stantibus Laicis facti, lapsorum tractare rationem.* That I have written at large unto the *Roman* Clergy: —— we hold fit to treate about the lapsed Christians by the common counsell and advice of the Bishops, Presbyters, Deacons, together with the Confessors, and Laity also.

h Lib. 4. Epist. 2. prope initium

Cornelius after this sort i, [*Novatum*] *cujus prima*

i apud Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 33.

ta quadam gratia diligeretur ab Episcopo, & vellet eum ordinare Presbyterum, Clerus vero omnis & quamplurimi ex Laicis prohiberent, dicentes, non licere Clericum fieri eum, qui in necessitate positus in lecto gratiam consecutus sit &c. Novatus being well beloved of a Bishop, obtained his consent to be ordain'd a Presbyter; but the whole Clergy and many of the Laity forbad it, saying, it was not fit he should be admitted into holy Orders, who in extremity of sicknes got the Bishops favour.

S. *Ambrose*, as if he had foreseene these our daies thus writeth [k], *Quando audisti, clementissime Imperator, in causa fidei, Laicos de Episcopo judicasse? Ita ergo quadam adulatione curvamur, ut sacerdotalis juris simus immemores, & quod Deus donavit mihi, hoc ipse aliis putem esse credendum? Si docendus est Episcopus a Laico, quid sequetur? Laicus ergo disputet, & Episcopus audiat, Episcopus discat a Laico.* When did you ever heare, most gratious Emperour, that Lay-men censured Bishops in a point of Religion? are wé so farre degenerated through servile flattery, that we utterly forget the dignity of our Preisthood? and shall I thinke it meete to deliver over to another, that which God hath vouchsafed unto mee? If Bishops must be taught by the Laity, what followes? Let the Lay-man dispute, and the Bishop heare him, and so let the Bishop learne of the Laity.

[k] Epist. 32.

S. *Hierome* giveth the reason, wherefore those who have entred into holy Orders are called

Cleri, in these words [l], *Igitur Clericus, qui Christi servit Ecclesiæ, interpretetur primò vocabulum suum, & nominis definitione prolatâ, nitatur esse quod dicitur. Si enim κλῆρος Græcè, sors Latinè appellatur; propterea vocantur Clerici, vel quia de sorte sunt Domini, vel quia Dominus ipse sors, id est, pars Clericorum est.* Let Clergy men therefore that serve the Church of Christ, interpret first their owne titles, and understanding the meaning thereof, let them strive to be what they are stiled. For if κλῆρος in Greeke, be *sors* in Latin, i. e. a lot or portion; they are therefore called *Clerkes*, because they are the Lords lot, or because the Lord himselfe is their lot, that is the portion of the Clergy. Also in his Commentary upon *Ezechiel*, he denoteth the common people by the word *Laicus. Vide Hieron. in Ezech. cap.* 48. *v.* 13, and 28.

[l] Epist. ad Nepotianum, *ante medium.*

S. *Chrysostome* upon these words of S. *Paul*, [*with the Bishops and Deacons*] *Philip.* 1. 1. saith [m], *Quid tandem in causa est, ut nequaquàm scribat Clero qui Romæ est, aut Corinthi, aut Ephesi, sed in commune omnibus sanctis, fidelibus, dilectis, hic autem scribat Clero? &c.* what's the reason that he writes not to the *Clergy*, which is at *Rome*, or *Corinth*, or *Ephesus*; but in common to all the holy saints, faithfull, and beloved: but writes here to the *Clergy? &c.*

[m] Homil. 2. in loc. *prope initium.*

To spend more time in answere to this frivolous objection would be in vaine, there being no age from the Apostles unto this present, nor scarce

ſcarce Author of eminent note, or generall Councill, in which this diſtinction of *Clergy* and *Laity* may not be found. Yea *Calvin* himſelfe, though in one place [n] he ſaith, that by *Clerus* 1. *Pet.* 5. 2. is meant the inheritance of God, that is the faithfull people: yet ſhortly after [o] he divideth the Church into two principall parts, that is to ſay, the Clergy, and the people: and by Clerkes he there intends thoſe that execute publique miniſtery in the Church.

[n] Inſtit. lib. 4. cap. 10. ſect. 7.

[o] Lib. eod. cap. 12. ſect. 1.

Ob. 2.

That there ought to be no imparity in the miniſtery, for that our Saviour ſaith, the Princes of the Gentiles exerciſe dominion over them; and they that are great exerciſe authority upon them. But it ſhall not be ſo among you, but whoſoever will be great among you, let him be your miniſter. And whoſoever will be cheife among you, let him be your ſervant. Matt. 20. 25. *&c.*

Anſ. To this objection *Origen* (having firſt ſhewed that *Biſhops* according to the example of Chriſt ſhould take care of the poore, and be ſervants to ſuch over whom they are in authority) giveth a cleare and ſatisfactory anſwer [a]; *Non iſta dicimus* (ſaith hee) *ut inclinemus eccleſiaſticum principatum. Eſt enim interdum quando ſecundum vocem Apoſtolicam peccantes coram omnibus arguant, ut & cæteri metum habeant. Eſt aliquando*

[a] Homil. 12. in Matt. 20. *prope finem.*

ut utens potestate sua tradat peccantem Satanæ in interitum carnis, ut spiritus salvetur in die Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Tamen raro hoc fieri debet. Corripiendi enim sunt inquieti, consolandi autem pusillanimes, sustinendi infirmi, & ad omnes magnanimitas est habenda. Nulli malum pro malo reddendum, ut non existimetur inimicus qui peccat, sed corripiatur ut frater. Hæc autem diximus ostendere, quod ecclesiarum principes principum mundialium imitatores esse non debent, sed imitari debent Christum accessibilem, & mulieribus loquentem, & pueris manus imponentem, & discipulis suis pedes lavantem, atq; tergentem, exemplum eis dantem, ut & ipsi similiter faciant fratribus suis. We speake not thus, to the end we may debase Ecclesiasticall Government. For there is a time when according to the Apostles instruction they should openly reprove offendors. There is a time when making use of their authority they may deliver greivous sinners over to Satan, *for the mortifying of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord* Jesus Christ. *But let this be done very seldome. The turbulent are to be corrected, the fearefull to be comforted, the infirme to be supported, and magnanimity must be shewed towards all men. evill for evill must not be returned to any, that he who offends may not be esteemed as an enemy, but be admonished as a brother; And this we say desireing to shew, that the Church Governours should not be altogether as Secular Magistrates, but like unto* Christ *easy of accesse: affable, laying their hands on children, washing the Disciples feet, giving them an example, that they should*

do

do the like to their brethren. And with this agreeth the exposition of the author of the imperfect worke upon Saint *Matthew* under the name of Saint *Chrysostome* upon the same text [b], *Volens certè Dominus* (saith he) *& duorum fratrum ambitionem extinguere, & decem discipulorum invidiam, introduxit differentiam inter principes mundiales & ecclesiasticos, ostendens quia primatus in Christo nec ab aliquo appetendus est non habente, nec alteri est invidendus habenti, quoniam principes mundi ideo fiunt, ut dominentur minoribus suis & eos servituti subjiciant & expolient, & usq; ad mortem eis abutantur ad suam utilitatem & gloriam. Principes autem ecclesiæ fiunt, ut serviant minoribus suis, & ministrant eis, quemadmodum acceperunt a Christo, ut suas utilitates negligant, & illorum procurent, ut si opus fuerit neq; mori non recusent pro salute inferiorum suorum &c.* Our Saviour willing both to extinguish the ambition of two of his Disciples, and the envy of the other ten, brings in the difference betwixt Temporall and Ecclesiasticall Governours, shewing that Primacy in Christ is neither to be desired by him that hath it not, nor envied in him that hath it; in that the Princes of this world are for this purpose, that they may Lord it over their inferiours, inslaving, spoiling, and abusing them even unto death for their peculiar profit and glory. But the Princes of the Church are instituted to serve their inferiours and minister unto them, as they have learned from Christ that they should neglect their owne profit, and procure theirs; so that if need be, they should not refuse even to

b *Opus imperf.* in Matt. homil. 34. *ultramed.*

die for the safety of their inferiours. If these satisfy not, heare what *Bucer* saith [a], *Hic putant Anabaptistæ sese posse probare, alienum esse a Christiano, si magistratu fungatur: neq; posse quemquam simul & magistratu fungi & Christianum esse, eò quòd hic discipulis Dominus dixerit, vos autem non sic: Non animadvertentes, eos qui pié & ex voluntate Domini magistratum gerunt, nihil minus quàm dominari, imo servire maximé; & tanto pluribus, quanto pluribus præfuerint. Certè & Apostolos Christus suam authoritatem in Ecclesiis habere voluit, & ipsi, ut sibi obediretur, magnoperé requisierunt. Verùm quia eo nihil sibi, sed iis tantùm, quos regebant, salutem quærebant, ac Dei gloriam, præfuerunt quidem Ecclesiis, primas ubiq; habuerunt, credentes gubernarunt, dicto audire sibi sanctos volebant; interim nihilominus servierunt omnibus, dominati sunt nemini. —— Non igitur regere & magistratu fungi, sed sibi quærere præcellentiam & potestatem, id demum est a quo hic Christus dehortatus est.* The Anabaptists fancy themselves able to prove from hence, that magistracy is inconsistent with Christianity; and that the same man cannot be both a Christian and a Magistrate; because our Saviour said to his Disciples, *but it shall not be so* among you. Not considering, that such as piously discharge the duty of a Magistrate and as God commands, do nothing lesse then domineere, yea they are rather servile unto those who are under their government. And certainely Christ would have his disciples to beare rule in the Church;

[a] *Bucer in loc.*

Church; they themſelves alſo requireing obedience to be yeilded to them: but becauſe they therein ſought not their owne advantage, but the good of them whom they governed, and Gods glory, they indeed were ſet over the Churches, had ever the cheife place, governed the faithfull, and would have the Saints to be obedient to them; yet in the meane time they miniſtred unto all, domineered over none. 'Tis not therefore to governe or to diſcharge the duty of a Magiſtrate, but to be ambitious; of preheminence and power, which Chriſt doth here prohibite. But ſince *Bucer* wrote there is a jolly troope of demi-anabaptiſts, *aliâs* Browniſts, ſtarted up, who would as gladly hearken unto a parity in the Clergy, as any Anabaptiſt of them all: though *Calvin* [b] poſitively affirmeth, *Non fuiſſe tunc æqualitatem inter Eccleſiæ miniſtros, quin unus aliquis authoritate & conſilio præeſſet*: There was not then a parity among the miniſters of the Church, but ſome one had preheminence and authority above others. We have now ſeene that the ſence of our Saviour *Matt.* 20 by the authority of both antient and moderne divines, doth not hold correſpondence with our new and Anabaptiſticall gloſſes. But if the pride of our ſtiffenecked generation were abated, ſo that they would (according to the Apoſtles direction 1 *Tim.* 5. 17.) *account their ſpirituall governours worthy of double honour*, and by that meanes would yeild unto them ſuch due reſpect and obedience

[b] *Calv. in Tit.* 1. 5.

bedience as by the expreſſe word of God they are enjoin'd; I ſuppoſe there would not be ſo much complaining againſt Biſhops. For we commonly reproach them as too Lordly in Governing, when all the fault is in our owne too much pride and lordlineſſe in not obeying; they preſſe hard, and ſticke not to wreſt what is written againſt Lordlineſſe, but they utterly neglect what the Apoſtle ſaith. *Heb* 13. 17. *Obey them that have the rule over you, and ſubmit your ſelves: for they watch over your ſoules, as they that muſt give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with greife.* which advice of the Apoſtle if we did regard as well as the other, and did alſo put the ſame in practice, we ſhould not heare ſo much clamour againſt our Paſtors as of late we have had. It is our owne rather then the Biſhops Lordlines, which hath beene the cauſe of this diviſion; which Lordly mind, and ſelf-conceited worth, if we our ſelves would put off, the Biſhops might retaine that authority which of right they antiently had. Pride indeed is an odious and abominable vice in any of what degree ſoever, eſpecially in the Clergy, who (in imitation of their Maſter) ſhould be patternes of humility unto others. And as *Petrus Bleſenſis* well obſerves, *Gloria Prælati eſt, ſi ſeipſum miſerum judicat & infirmum, inſufficientem oneri, & honore indignum; ſunt qui honores virtutes reputant, ſuiſq; meritis aſcribunt gradum eminentiæ, quem in ira Dei fortaſſis adepti ſunt; honoris aſſumpto mul-*

tũ

in tentatio facta eſt, & ſubverſionis occaſio. Igitur ſic præſis ut proſis. Va his qui præſident hominibus, niſi præſideat eis Deus. It is the glory of Prelates to eſteeme meanely of their owne ſelves, and not to deeme themſelves worthy either of their honor or function: Some there are who account it a virtue to be honorable, and aſcribe much to their owne worth, which perhaps was beſtowed on them no otherwiſe then in judgment. honor drawes with it temptation, and occaſioneth the overthrow of many. Do thou therefore ſo rule that thou mayeſt profit. For woe unto them who are placed in authority over men, unles they are guided by God almighty. Beſides, this text is further wreaſted by our adverſaries, who labour to extend that to inferiour Orders, which Chriſt ſpake onely to the Apoſtles: For it followeth not that a parity ought to be among all Miniſters, becauſe it may ſeeme ſo to be among the Apoſtles, of whom onely our Saviour ſpake, *whoſoever will be great among you*, ἐν ὑμῖν. For had S. *James* no authority or ſuperiority over *Barnabas*, becauſe not over S. *Peter*? or had not S. *Paul* authority over *Timothy*, becauſe S. *John* had not over him? Be it, that S. *Paul* was equall to S. *Peter* in honour and power; was therefore *Evodius* or *Clemens*? Let them learne then from hence, that Chriſt doth not forbid to be great and firſt, but to be proud of greatnes and Primacy; which pride he doth no more allow in Lay Governours, then in Eccleſiaſticall, and with like

like motives dehorteth each of them from it. Shall we therefore have no ſecular Magiſtrates among Chriſtians, becauſe our Lord will have all Chriſtians humble as little children? Authority and humility, are no way incompatible, no, neither the rodde, and the ſpirit of meekenes: the latter of which is not more needefull to the ſpiritualty, then the former *Gal. 6. 1. That he who is overtaken in a fault, may be reſtored with the ſpirit of meekenes.* A good Sheepheard muſt have his rodde to drive the ſheepe, aſwell as his ſtaffe to drive away the wolfe. He therefore that will not afford his Paſtor theſe, will allow him nothing but the *Inſtruments of a fooliſh ſheepheard.* Moreover, as our Sauiour did not enjoine his Magiſtrates authority exempt from humility, ſo neither his Meſſengers humility exempt from authority. Neither did he ever permitt ſuch as exclaime againſt the pride and Tyrrany of Biſhops, to ingroſſe and monopolize all pride and tyrrany to themſelves. Chriſt then in this place allowes *Imparity*, enjoines authority, but adjoines humility. Theſe like *Hipocrates* Twin muſt be individuall; not in the obje&, but ſubje&; that Governours may not diſdaine to ſtoop for raiſing the *proſtrate*, nor feare to riſe up againſt the *proude*. 'Tis fitteſt for him to be great, who is little in his owne eies, to be firſt, who is as the laſt, to be an Elder, who is as the younger, to governe, who had rather to obey. It is as greate a taske wiſely to commaund, as readily

to

to obey. 'Tis most unequall dealing therefore busily to obtrude to our Spirituall Governours, Christs commanding them to be humble; while we our selves forget that he will have us as humble as they, or to tell them that he enioyn'd them to be lowly, while we conceale, that he allowed them to be great, or that he no lesse allowed them a primacy in Condition, then he prescribed to us a Iuniority in demeanour.

Ob. 3.

That the Protestant Churches beyond the Seas, have throwen off Episcopacy.

Answ. The more is the pitty; experience hath taught them, and we cannot be so insensible as not to discerne the miserable event thereof. We are commanded by our saviour, not *to follow a multitude to do evil*, and before we make them our patterne in this particular, we shall do well to enquire by what authority *They did this thing*. Certaine it is that heresies multiply & abound among them without controll, scarce was there any heresy in antient times, which hath not some patrones and abettours. And where are they most of all fomented and promoted, but in *Amsterdam*, and other Countries which are spoyled of their Bishops? And no marveile, seing that very prescript which

by divine institution was provided as the most soveraigne antidote against schisme and heresy, and the most principall meanes to preserve unity, is utterly abolished. It is well knowen that Bishops of themselves have done much, and where their private power could not extend, generall Councills, (consisting for the most part of Bishops) were called, as the chiefest medicine for those maladies. But now ther's no probability of such a remedy: multitudes of dreamers being every where to be found who despise dominion and speake evill of dignities [a]: *These speake evill of things they know not, clouds they are without water carried about of winds, complainers, walking after their owne lusts, speaking great swelling words. These be they who seperate themselves, sensuall, having not the spirit.* What age ever was there, in which these monsters could be so readily pointed out as at this present? When did men so much take upon them to deprave the institutions of Christ and his Apostles, not knowing what they say or doe? When did men walke and preach after their owne lusts, as at this day, be it treason, rebellion, disloyalty, or any disobedience whatsoever, and how are such doctrines applauded, and the Authors cried up for godly Ministers? When was there ever such boasting of the spirit, as in our times, every schismaticall upstart assuming to be full of the spirit of preaching and of prayer, and so naufeare all those holy prayers and meditations, which have past

[a] Epist. Jud.

paſt the teſt of the Church? What age did ever produce ſuch a generall ſeperation from Communion with the Catholicke Church, as this affordeth? Who can inſtance any Nation of the world that (before Epiſcopacy was impaired) durſt *vilify or deſpiſe dominion, or ſpeake evill of dignities*, comparable to our Engliſh, where malignant tongues and pens alſo, dare to mount farre above the worthy Fathers of the Church, I would I might not ſay as high as Kings? In a word when Church, King, Lawes, good men, and all that hath the marke of God upon it, are ſlandered and contemned by ſuch who in the interim would gull and befoole us, with that ſpecious and bewitching pretence *Reformation*. Thus men follow their owne pernitious waies, whereby the way of truth is evill ſpoken of. But theſe are the iſſues of thoſe laſt and perillous times, agreeable to that of *Hippolitus Martyr* [a], *Iſaac portat imaginem Dei patris, Rebecca ſpiritus ſancti, Eſau populi prioris & Zabuli, Iacob Eccleſiæ & Chriſti, ſenectus Iſaac conſummationem mundi, oculi caligantes fidem periſſe de mundo, & religionis lumen neglectum eſſe ſignificant*. *Iſaac* repreſents God the Father, *Rebecca* the Holy Ghoſt, *Eſau* the people of old and [redacted], *Iacob* is a figure of the Church and Chriſt. *Iſaaks* old age ſignifies the end of the world, his dimme eies note that faith ſhall depart out of the world, and that the light of Religion ſhall be neglected. So alſo the Interlin. Gloſſe [b]; *Senectus Iſaac conſummationem orbis oſtendit, caligaverunt*

[a] In cap. 27 Gen verſ. 1. ex perantiquo exemplari. MS.

[b] Gloſſa ibid. MS.

ligaverunt oculi ejus & videre non poterat fidem de mundo periisse & lumen Religionis. The old age of *Isaac* is a figure of the end of the world, his eies were dimme and he could not see, this intimates that true faith and the light of Religion shall vanish away. And how shall darkneſſe be prevented, when the light faileth? Our Saviour saith to his Apoſtles [a] *Ye are the light of the world*, which light hath beene held up in the Church by *Bishops* the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, yea they are anciently said to be the lampes thereof. They therefore that go about to root out Epiſcopacy, thereby to prevent ſchiſme and hereſy, do as well provide for the peace of the Church, as did the Jewes for the safety of their Countrey, when they crucified the Saviour of the world, leaſt the *Romanes* ſhould come and take away their place and Nation.

[a] Mat. 5. 14.

Ob. 4.

That ſome of the Biſhops are Arminians, ſome Socinians, and ſome Popiſh.

Anſ. It is an eaſy thing to impeach any man, but a diveliſh policy to accuſe any one for by reſpects, and to accompliſh ſiniſter ends: Dirt may be throwen in the faireſt face, and a froward dogge will barke againſt the beſt neighbour, aſſoone as againſt a theife. Our Saviour *knew no ſin neither was guile found in his mouth*; yet the

guileſull

guilefull mouthes of ſinners were open againſt him. The diſciples are not greater then their Maſter. Many of the bleſſed Saints and Martyrs have had grievous crimes laid to their charge. The Iewes (aſſiſted by the raveing multitude) cryed out of S. *Paul. he is not worthy to live*, They did alſo gnaſh their teeth upon S. *Steven* onely for that his doctrines did not ſute with their humour. And that bleſſed *Archbiſhop Athanaſius* was by the hereticks of his time, accuſed to be a Magitian. Let it threfore be firſt proved that any of our Biſhops are *Arminians, Socinians*, or *Papiſts?* for till then, this accuſation muſt be taken for no other then a ſcandall. But if ſome are or ſhall be ſuch, it is no new thing we may take notice that in the daies of *Origen*, the Clergy were not altogether faultleſſe, no not the Biſhops, for ſaith he [b], *Putaſne qui ſacerdotio funguntur, & in ſacerdotali ordine gloriantur, ſecundum ordinem ſuum incedunt, & agunt omnia, quæ illo ordine digna ſunt? Similiter autem & Diaconi, putas ſecundum ordinem miniſterii ſui incedunt? Et unde eſt quod ſæpe audimus blaſphemare homines & dicere, ecce, qualis Epiſcopus, aut qualis Presbyter, vel qualis Diaconus? Nonne hæc dicuntur, ubi vel ſacerdos vel miniſter Dei viſus fuerit in aliquo contra ordinem ſuum venire, & aliquid contra ſacerdotalem, vel leviticum ordinem gerere?* Doſt thou conceive that they which are Preiſts, and glory in that title, do behave themſelves according to the Dignity of their function? In like manner, art thou of

[b] Homil. 2. in Num. pag. 95.

of opinion that the Deacons demeane themselves as becommeth that Order? Whence then is it that we heare men reviling them and saying, Lo, what a Bishop, or what a Presbyter, or what a Deacon? Is not this ordinarily spoken, when ever Gods Preist or Minister shall seeme to contradict his holy function by his practice, or doe any thing misbecoming a Preist or Levite. And now shall we have none at all, because some are bad? shall therefore an Order in the Church so venerable, so antient, universall, and infallibly Apostolicall, be abandoned, because some are faulty? Nay let us rather (according to the example of the antient Christians) highly esteeme of those that are good. For the Church alwaies reaped more benefit by her orthodox Bishops, then detriment from hereticall. *Bishops* are as a City upon an hill, & the eies of many are so fixed on them, that a mote (though a white one) on a linnen Ephod cannot be unespied: True it is, *Quisq; suos patimur manes.* Every one hath his fault; and, *crimen habet, quanto major qui peccat habetur.* The greater the offender, the more grievous the offence. Let some Bishops be as bad as they can, that may not nullify the calling, neither should it dishearten any Christian, according to that of S. *Augustine*[a], *In illum autem ordinem Episcoporum, qui ducitur ab ipso Petro usq; ad Anastasium, qui nunc in eadem cathedra sedet, etiam si quisquã traditor per illa tempora subrepsisset, nihil præjudicaret Ecclesiæ.* If any [illegible] hath at some

[a] Epist. 165.

ſome time crept into that order of Biſhops deduced from S. *Peter* downe to *Anaſtaſius* the now preſent Biſhop, the Church ſhould not be endamaged thereby. Nor is there more reaſon to obtrude the faults of ſome Biſhops, thereby totally to diſſolve the Order of Biſhops; then that of *Iudas* to overthrow the function of the Apoſtles. Inſtead therefore of extirpation, let us pray God to amend both them and our ſelves; For without them (by the teſtimony of *Ignatius*, *Cyprian*, *Athanaſius*, and others) we can have no true Church, nor (as our late *Salomon* King *Iames* of bleſſed memory doth intimate) any peace in a well rul'd Monarchy: For let ſuch (ſaith that propheticke King) as aſpire to become *Tribuni plebis*, but once ſet up their conceited parity in the Church, and they have a faire example to draw the Civill State * to the like. Away then with this parity the mother of confuſion, and let us ſupport Epiſcopall government, as the moſt foſtering nurſe of concord, unity, and peace.

* No Biſhop no King, Conference at *Hampton* Court. pag. 36. and pag. 80.

Cap. XI.

A briefe application of the preceding discourse, with a vindication of the Churches authority.

NOw were all the ancient Fathers and Apostolicke men Popish and Antichristian? What all, those of the Greeke and African Churches, as well as those of the Romane? Was the Catholicke Church every where Popish for the space of 1500. yeares next after the Apostles? Did all those glorious lights of the Church, that were coetaneous and conversant with the Apostles? and those also who were instructed by such as both saw and heard the Apostles, unanimously conspire so early to set up Popery and the Kingdome of Antichrist? Was the Apostles doctrine so quickely throwne by, and the Church the spouse of Christ turn'd harlot or ever she was out of her infancy? Surely they had need of a strong faith that can beleeve this for truth, (how stiffely soever the *grand Promoters* of our new learning averre it) and but evill did those who immediately succeeded the Apostles, discharge the trust committed to them, if there were not any Church rightly govern'd after the Apostles decease till the

the time of *Calvin*: For it is out of controversy, and never any Schismaticke durst undertake to maintaine; that the Churches of any Nation, City, or Countrey in the whole Christian world untill his dayes had any government otherwise then by *Bishops*. The whole Church then did approve and uphold this government, and if no more could be said for it then the authority of the Church, even that alone were enough to evince them: If this be doubted, let those poore seduced wretches enter into a serious consideration of their desperate estate, and let them search the Scriptures, for there they shall find that our Saviour hath promised to be with his Church *to the end of the world*, *Mat.* 28 [a]. and that the Holy Ghost was sent *to guide the Church into all truth*. *Io.* 16 [b]. There they shall find that *The Church is the ground and pillar of truth*, 1. *Tim.* 3. [c] And accordingly they may find, that in the best and purest times, the authority of the Church did so farre take place, as that it alone was held sufficient to stop the mouthes of all Hereticks; and we read not that any till of late was ever so impudent as to contradict it. Let Antiquity be heard speake for it selfe.

Irenaus [d] saith, that *Ecclesia ubiq; praedicat veritatem, & haec est arrium & lucerna Christi bajulans lumen.* The Chusch every where preacheth the Truth, and is the sevenfold Candlesticke, diffusing the light of Christ. And [e] concludeth those to be in a damnable estate, who advise others to oppose

[a] Mat. 28. 20.

[b] Jo. 16. 13.

[c] 1. Tim. 3. 15.

[d] Lib. 3. Haeres. ultramodi.

[e] Lib. 4. Haeres. cap. 43. in fine.

oppoſe the Church, *Qui vero exurgunt contra veritatem, & alteros adhortantur adverſus eccleſiam Dei, remanent apud inferos, voragine terræ abſorpti, quemadmodum qui circa Chore*, Dathan, *et* Abiram: *Qui autem ſcindunt & ſeparant unitatem eccleſiæ, eandem quam* Hieroboam *pœnam percipiunt a Deo.* They who riſe up againſt the truth, and ſtirre up others againſt Gods Church, may expect to be ſwallowed up of hell, as were the Complices of *Chore*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*. And they who make a ſeparation from the unity of the Church, may looke to be puniſhed of God in the ſame ſort as *Hieroboam* was.

Tertullian[f] giveth this rule how to diſtinguiſh Apoſtolicall truthes from innovated falſhood, *Quid prædicaverint* [Apoſtoli] *id eſt, quid illis Chriſtus revelaverit, & hic præſcribam non aliter probari debere, niſi per eaſdem eccleſias, quas ipſi Apoſtoli condiderunt, ipſi eis prædicando, tam viva (quod aiunt) voce, quàm per epiſtolas poſtea.* I ſhall here alſo admoniſh, that what the Apoſtles preached, and what Chriſt revealed unto them, be manifeſted onely by the ſame Churches, which the Apoſtles themſelves did found by preaching to them as well by word of mouth (as we ſay) as afterwards by their epiſtles. Againe[a], *Si conſtat id verius, quod prius, id prius, quod & ab initio, ab initio quod ab Apoſtolis, pariter utiq; conſtabit, id eſſe ab Apoſtolis traditum, quod apud eccleſias Apoſtolorum fuerit ſacrò ſanctum.* ——*Habemus & Iohannis alumnas eccleſias. Nam etſi Apocalypſim ejus*

[f] *De præſcript. adverſus Hæreſ. ante medium.*

[a] *Lib. 4. adverſus Marcion. poſt initium.*

jus Marcion respuit, ordo tamen Episcoporum ad originem recensus, in Iohannem stabit autorem. Sic & cæterarum generositas recognoscitur. We have the Churches also planted by Saint *Iohn*, for although *Marcion* respects his *Apocalypse*, notwithstanding if the order of Bishops be reckoned up from the beginning, it will appeare that Saint *Iohn* was the Author. In like manner also the authority of others is discerned.

Clemens Alexandrinus [b] observeth, that late heresies and innovations are discovered by the practice of the ancient Church, *Clarum est ex antiquissima ecclesia, has recentiores, & quæ hîs sunt adhuc inferiores, tempore fuisse innovatas, adulterina nota hæreses.* And therefore he giveth this caution, *Non oportet unquam sicut faciunt, qui hæreses sequuntur, adulterare veritatem, neq;* [c] *furari regulam ecclesiæ, &c.* We ought not to adulterate the truth or surreptitiously procure the Churches Rule, as Hereticks are wont to doe.

Cyprian [d] lively setteth forth the state of those who adhere not to the Church, *Quisquis ab ecclesia segregatus adultera jungitur, a promissis ecclesiæ separatur, nec pertinet ad Christi præmia, qui reliquit ecclesiam Christi; alienus est, prophanus est, hostis est. Habere jam non potest Deum patrem, qui ecclesiam non habet matrem.* Whosoever doth separate from the Church, is joined to an harlot, and hath no part in the promises made to the Church, nor share in the rewards which Christ bestowes; but is a stranger, prophane, and the

[b] *Lib. 7. Strom. prope finem.*

[c] κλέπτειν τὴν κανόνα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

[d] *De simplicitat. Prælat. prope initium.*

Churches enemy. He cannot have God for his Father, who hath not the Church for his mother.

S. Auguſtine (upon any doubtfull queſtion riſen) admoniſheth to fly to the Church for ſolution [e], *Quiſquis falli metuit hujus obſcuritate quæſtionis, eccleſiam de illa conſulat, quam ſive ulla ambiguitate ſancta Scriptura demonſtrat.* Whoſoever fear's to be deceived through the obſcurity of ſome difficult queſtion; let him conſult with the Church concerning the ſame, which the holy Scripture clearely points out unto us. He alſo pleads for the authority of the Church againſt the *Donatiſts* [f], *Quod univerſa tenet eccleſia, nec conſiliis inſtitutum, ſed ſemper retentum eſt, non niſi authoritate Apoſtolicâ traditum rectiſſimè creditur.* 'Tis moſt juſtly beleived, that whatſoever the Catholique Church mainteines, and which was not inſtituted by generall Councills, but hath ever beene obſerved in the Church, muſt of neceſſity be of Apoſtolicall inſtitution. And elſewhere [g] he is very plaine, *Ego verò Evangelio non crederem, niſi me catholicæ Eccleſiæ commoveret authoritas.* I ſhould not have beleived the Goſpell it ſelfe, except the authority of the Catholique Church had perſwaded mee.

Vincentius Lirinenſis [h] preſcribeth an exact rule whereby to unfold the intricate places of Scripture, in as much as they (by reaſon of their admirable ſublimity) are ſubject to various interpretations, ſo that, *Pene quot homines ſunt, tot illic ſententiæ erui poſſe videntur —— Neceſſe eſt* (ſaith

e *Contra Creſconium lib. 1. cap. 33.*

f *Cont. Donat Lib. 4. cap. 24.*

g *Cont. Epiſt. Manichæi. cap. 5.*

h *Adverſ. Hæreſ. cap. 2.*

(saith he) *propter tantos tam varii erroris anfractus, ut Prophetica & Apostolica interpretationis linea secundum Ecclesiastici & Catholici sensus normam dirigatur.* There are almost as many opinions, as men. 'Tis therefore necessary, that because of so great and various mazes of errour, the line of interpreting the Prophets and Apostles, be drawne by the square and rule of the opinion of the Catholique Church. And then he proceeds [i], *Magnopere curandum est, ut id teneamus, quod ubiq; quod semper, quod ab omnibus creditum est, hoc est enim verè propriè catholicum.* We must have a speciall care, that we hold that opinion, which hath beene beleived at all times, in all places, and by all men, for that is truely and properly Catholique. Yea, he forbiddeth to admit of any thing for which we find no warrant in the Catholique Church [d], *Nemini licet praeter id quod Ecclesia Catholica usquequaq; evangelizat, accipere.* If these testimonies for the authority of the Catholique Church, be not of sufficient credit among our Novelists; it is to be hoped they will hearken to *Beza*, who saith, [e] *Haereticus est qui a doctrina sana ita aberrat, ut contempto Dei & Ecclesiae judicio, in sententia permaneat, & Ecclesiae concordiam violet.* He is an Hereticke who derogates from sound doctrine so, that scorning the judgment of Gods Church, he persists in his owne opinion, and violates the unity of the Church.

i Idem. cap. 3.

d Idem. cap. 14.

e In Act. 3. 17.

Now it being a truth so apparent and undeniable,

able, that the government by *Biſhops* hath continued in the Chriſtian Church in all places, and at all times, above the ſpace of 1500 years, either we muſt acknowledge Epiſcopacy to be Apoſtolicall and truely Catholicke; or elſe conclude, that there was no true Church, or at leaſt that the whole Church did erre, during all that long tract of time, which to affirme is little better then Atheiſme. We are enjoynd by the word of God [b] *to try the ſpirits whether they are of God:* And if we throughly examine this new ſpirit of which ſo many boaſt, it will appeare to be none other then the ſpirit of Antichriſt: For what comes nearer to the denying of Chriſt to be come in the fleſh, then to gainſay his Word, his Apoſtles, and his Church? For our parts that conforme to the Church, we truſt, we may ſafely ſay, if we periſh, we periſh by the booke, and feare not to averre with *Richardus de S. Victore* [a], *Domine, ſi error eſt* [*quod credimus*] *a te decepti ſumus. If we are deceived, it is thou Lord which haſt deceived us.* For we have Scriptures, Apoſtolicke men, Councels, Fathers, and the Churches authority on our ſide, and by them all are we directed. Awake then for ſhame all you that yeild no reſpect to the Church, Fathers, or Councells, you that thinke you walke as high as heaven, and that every ſtep is on a ſtarre; the poore Church, Councells, Fathers, Apoſtolicke men, are in your profound jndgement all in an error, all under your feet, whiles your chariot is rould uniformely above the

1 John. 4. 1.

a Lib. 1. *de Trinit. at. cap.* 2.

the ſunne, and Heaven takes new lawes from your almighty wit. But you cannot be ignorant that our Saviour neither ſent nor promiſed more then one Holy Ghoſt to guide and direct his Church: & unleſſe you can make it appeare that there is another Holy Ghoſt lately deſcended from Heaven, you have no ſhadow of evaſion to quit your ſelves of rebellion againſt Chriſt and his Church, who do ſo wilfully and peremptorily oppoſe your ſelves againſt them, and all thoſe meanes, which are provided for our direction in the right way. But now, as the Apoſtle ſaith [a], the time is come that *men give heed to ſeducing ſpirits, and doctrines of devils*; Now *they ſpeake* [nay preach] *lyes in hypocriſy, having their conſcience ſeared with an hot iron.* Now if ever, we have juſt cauſe to complaine as the prophet *David* [b], *Lord, how are they encreaſed that trouble us, many are they that riſe up againſt us: Thine enemies reare in the midſt of thy Congregations, and ſet up their banners for tokens* [c]. *Many dogs are come about us, and the Counſell of the wicked layeth ſiege againſt us* [d]. *The proud are riſen up againſt us, and the Congregations of naughty men have ſought after our ſoules, and have not ſet thee before their eies: The poyſon of aſpes is under their lips, their feete are* ſwift to ſhed bloud, *deſtruction and miſery are in their wayes, and the way of* peace have they not knowen [f]. Like the enemies of God [g], *they make a tumult, and have lift up their head: They have taken* crafty counſell *againſt his ſecret ones,* ſaying,

[a] 1. Tim. 4. 1.

[b] Pſal. 3. 1.

[c] Pſal 74. 5.

[d] Pſal. 22. 16.
[e] Pſal. 86. 14.
[f] Rom. 3. 13. 15.

[g] Pſal. 83. 2. &c.

Come, let us roote them out from being a Nation, that the name of Iſrael may be no more in remembrance; They caſt their heads together *with one conſent, & are confederate againſt the Lord.* Yea, they have
h Pſal. 83. 12. i Pſal. 74. 6. &c. ſaid [h], *Let us take to our ſelves* the houſes of God in poſſeſſion. [i] *He that hewed timber afore out of the thicke trees, was knowen to bring it to an excellent worke, but now they breake downe all the carved worke thereof with axes and hammers. They have ſet fire upon his holy places, and have defiled the* dwelling place *of his name: Yea, they have ſaid in their hearts, let us make havocke of them altogether, thus would they burne up all the houſes of God in the Land.*
k Pſal. 94. 3. &c. Lord, [k] *how long ſhall the ungodly, how long ſhall the ungodly triumph? how long ſhall all wicked doers ſpeake ſo diſdainefully, and make ſuch proud boaſtings?*
l Pſal. 89. 49. &c. *Remember,* [l] *Lord the rebuke that thy ſervants have, and how we do beare in our boſomes the reproach of the mighty; wherewith thine enemies have reproached thee, and ſlandered the foot-ſteps of*
m Pſal 74. 20. &c. *thine* ANOINTED. [m] *O deliver not the ſoule of thy turtle dove unto the multitude of the wicked, and forget not the Congregation of the poore for ever: Looke upon the Covenant, for all the earth is full of darkeneſſe and cruell habitations.*
n Pſal. 102. 12. 13. o Pſal. 119. 126. [n] *Ariſe O Lord, and have mercy upon Sion, for it is time that thou have mercy upon her, yea the time is come:* [o] *It is time for thee to lay to thine hand, for they have* de-
p Pſ. l. 24. 23. ſtroyed thy law. [p] *Ariſe, ariſe,* therefore *O God, mainetaine thine owne cauſe, and forget not the voice*
q Pſal. 144. 10. *of thine enemies.* [q] *Thou that haſt given victory*

unto

unto Kings, [r] *Caſt forth thy lightning, and teare them: ſhoot out thine arrows, and conſume them.* [f] *So ſhall we ſing praiſes to thee in thy Temple, and give thankes unto thy name.* NOW [t] *Bleſſed be the Lord God of Iſrael from everlaſting to everlaſting: and let all the people ſay*

Amen,

Amen and *Amen.*

Gloria Deo in excelſis.

[r] Pſal. 144. 6.

[f] Pſal. 96. 9:
[t] Pſal. 106. 48.

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PROCEEDINGS against the

CAVALIERS.

Wherein is set forth the Number of those that were Taken, Kill'd, and Maimed, at his late Victories obtained over them.

Sent in a Letter from a Gentleman in his Army (Dated July 24. 1643.) to a Friend in LONDON.

Published according to Order.

July 28 LONDON,

Printed for Benjamin Allen, 1643.

A TRUE RELATION OF Colonell Cromwels PROCEEDINGS against the CAVALIERS.

Wherein is set forth the Number of those that were Taken, Kill'd, and Maimed, at his late Victories obtained over them.

Sent in a Letter from a Gentleman in his Army (Dated 7th. 1643.) to a Friend in LONDON.

Published according to Order.

LONDON.

Printed for Benjamin Allen, 1643.

A TRVE RELATION OF Colonell CROMVVELS PROCEEDINGS Against the Cavaliers.

VVherein is set forth the Number of those that were Taken, Kil'd, and Maimed, in his late Victories obtained against them.

Good Captaine,

I Received yours last week, &c. for which I thanke you, and which did much moderate the anxiety of our soules, wherein we were in the apprehension of the utter rouring, and infinite losse of Sir *William Waller*, as it was before related and represented to us, the

 best

hest I confesse is bad, but as it pleaseth the Lord, so things come to passe, and we [illegible] times to receive [illegible] at his hands [illegible] yet laying aside our confidence in [illegible] downe to the Grave, and raiseth [illegible] to doe his worke [illegible] by great, and [illegible] strength of flesh) and he will bring it to [illegible] faithfull, he hath promised, and he will doe it. I should be glad to heare some good newes of the *Kentish* [illegible]nes, &c. In the meane time, I shall now tell you of our own great danger, and therefore great deliverance, (the Lords name be praised for it.)

About Tuesday last the Cavaliers came from *Bever* Castle, and *Newarke*, to *Stamford*, about 1000. of them, as was informed us; they set also that day (as I remember) upon *Peterborough*, but were repelled by Colonell *Palgrave* and his Company, who lay about *Whittlesey* and *Peterborough*, and sallyed out to them with some *Ordnance*, they retired to *Stamford*, whither they called in the Countrey, and began to fortifie apace, but it pleased God to interrupt them, by sending Colonell *Cromwell* to them from *Northampton* side, or *Rockingham*, with 6. or 7. Troops, and some few Foot.

On Wednesday they had some Skirmishes, first at a great house called Wothrop House, [illegible] whence driving them, they retired to [illegible] stately house, by *Stamford* also, called [illegible] and getting within the Parke Walls, ([illegible] round with a stone Wall) they made that [illegible]nary; so for that time the Warre seased, for the Colonell

nell had few Foot, and no Ordnance. We lost not a man, or but a man at most, he slew of theirs a Captain, a Lieutenant, and a Cornet, and some 10. or 12. more, and took one Colour, and some 20. men, so there was a Truce, at least no more fighting till this morning: though the Colonel was within a mile and halfe of the Towne, intending to set downe against it on Saturday morning last decimes, but the sad raine forbad him. Yesterday God sent also to his assistance Colonell *Hobart*, (and some say also Sir *Samuel Luke*,) Colonell *Palgrave* also came to him with his men and Ordnance, so together they made a considerable strength, of 3. or 4000. and they say 12. or 14. Pieces of Ordnance. They stay not, but presently that night advance all to *Burghly* House (whither the Enemy was againe gone for sanctuary) sit downe before it, shot with their Ordnance 2. or 3. houres, (beginning at 3. of clock this morning) but could do no good that way, the house was so strong, they sound a Parley, offer quarter for the men only to have life and Liberty to depart without their weapons &c. The Enemy refuses, answers, they would neither take nor give quarter: They fall then upon them with their Musquets, a difficult take, and full of danger, the fight was very hot and well performed (they say) on both sides, the Enemy being very confident, active, and tryumphing, till about one of clock this afternoone; But then their Spirits began to fall them; And they sounded a Parly, the Colonell most Christianly commanded presently that none of his should dare to shoot or kill any man during the parly, upon paine of death, (forgetting their former cruell answer) presently

sently they concluded upon quarter for their lives; for they tooke them all (being two Colonells, six or seven Captaines, three or 400. Foote, 150. or 200. Horse) with all their Armes, &c. And the pillage of the House, and how they will deale with *Stamford* (now also at their mercy) we know not; but if the report be true which we have, that they rung the Bells backward on Wednesday, when the first Skirmish was, to call in the Country to assist the Cavaliers against the Colonell, his mercy will be admirable if they escape: for the Providence of God hath beene in this business, that in all this hot fight for nine or elven houres, we are credibly informed by one that was a Spectator all the while, that not above six or seven men were slaine, (though many hurt) in the Battell; onely about two miles beyond *Stamford*, towards *Grantham*, some 400. Club-men comming in to the aid of the Cavaliers, and having killed some of the Colonells scouts, hee sent three or foure Troopes to meet them, they almost killed one of the Captaines; upon which being inraged, they presently slew some 50. of them, the rest fled (they say) into the Woods; This is the effect of what we yet hear: Thus it pleaseth God yet to preserve us; blessed be his name: I should be glad to heare some good newes of Sir *William Waller*; you heare (I question not) of the taking of *Gains-berry*; and the rich price there, 35000. (they say) in the Earle of *Kingstones-house*, with himselfe, and abundance of other Knights, and Gentlemen, and of brave Horses, &c. It was since besieged againe by the Earle of *New-Castle*; and the Siege raised againe (wee heare this day) by my Lord

Fairefax;

Fairefax; If it bee true, It's good newes to heare alſo that Noble Lord is in the field again. The Stage of war (you ſee) is now become on our ſide, the Lord be mercifull unto us; what heare you yet of the Scots? Are the Commiſſioners gone? Here is a muttering about the Lievtenant of the Tower; how goes on your buſineſſe for your new Army? What does my Lord Generalls Army? &c.

We have had terrible Alarms laſt weeke, but I was at *Cambridge* almoſt all the week with my Wife: The Lord be with us and for us, preſerve, fit, and uſe us for his Glory.

My love to you both.

FINIS.

Fairfax; If it bee true, It's good newes to heare also that Noble Lord is in the field again. The Stage of war (you see) is now become on our side, the Lord be mercifull unto us; what heare you yet of the Scots? Are the Commissioners gone? Here is a muttering about the Lieutenant of the Tower; how goes on your businesse for your new Army? What does my Lord Generalls Army? &c.

We have had terrible Alarms last weeke, but I was at *Cambridge* almost all the week with my Wife: The Lord be with us and for us, preserve, fit, and use us for his Glory.

My love to you both.

FINIS.

8

Stamford taken is,
The Earl of *Kingston* slain is,
Exeter relieved is,
And *Bristol* secure is.

Numb. 3.

K. P. P. London
Wednesday's Mercury

THE SPECIALL PASSAGES CONTINVED,

From Tuesday 25 Iuly, to Friday the 28 Iuly 1643.

THe Citie of *Exeter* having been a long time besieged by some Forces gathered for the most part out of *Devonshire*, *Somersetshire*, and *Cornwall*, under the Conduct and command of the High Sheriffes of the said Counties, the Perfidious *Chudleigh*, and some others, pretending they had warrant from his Majestie to summon the Citie, and to demand the surrendring of it for his use, which having been by them often done, and as often denied by the noble Earle of *Stamford*, and the best and most substantiall Inhabitants of that Citie. The aforesaid Cavaleers lately obtaining a Proclamation in his Majesties name, proclaiming the Citizens and all other Forces in that Citie, Rebels and Traitors if they still refused to surrender it, (thereby thinking to have terrified them, and forced them to a dishonourable surrender, but the Citie ha-

ving received it contrarie to their expectations, returned them this resolute, loyall, and pertinent Answer.

Your Message hath been sufficiently answered by a slighting silence, but since you are so evident as to stile us Rebels, and threaten us altogether with ruine, we thinke it fit to acquaint you, that we as much scorne your threats, as wee abhorre your faction, and we appeale to Heaven, whether we or you indeavour most his Majesties good and right, and shall expect successe accordingly. This Citie is kept for his Majestie by his good Subjects authorized so to doe from his highest Court, which we doubt not will in Gods appointed season, crush you and all its bold Opposers. The Kings Proclamation duly and legally issued we reverence, but proceeding from such destructive, captivating Councellours to serve your owne wicked ends, give us leave to bewayle our Soveraignes, and our owne unhappinesse, that such Instruments as you should raise and recover your fortunes on those that love and honour their God King and Countrey.

Stamford.	*John Bamfield.*
Ch. Clarke Major.	*Hen. Walcond.*
Fr. Drake.	*Rich. Saunders.*
John Northcot.	*Adam Bennet.*
Sam. Role.	*Tho. Crossing.*
Nich. Martin.	*John Hakewill.*

Which loyall, peremptorie, and discreet resolution of theirs will remaine as an everlasting Monument of honour to that Citie, and may serve as a patterne for all other places in this Kingdome, not to submit themselves and fortunes to the Tyranny of those ruinating and devouring Catterpillers, who destroy and utterly ruinate all places into which they are admitted. It hath pleased God exceedingly to prosper this Citie since the returning this message & they have given many repulses unto the Assailants, with the losse of few of their own forces. It was also lately

lately relieved by the Earle of *Warwicke* who hath taken *Topsham* and beaten of the Cavaliers, and it is conceived that upon the landing of his men, the Cavaliers will be soone dispersed, and utterly dis-inabled from making any more assaults against this Citie.

From *Cheshire* it is informed, That Sir *William Brereton* the last weeke made divers Assaults upon the Citie of *Chester*, and continued before it about two dayes, but finding his forces not to be sufficient to surprise a place of that strength, retired from it with the losse onely of about two of his men, and as it is conceived as many more of the enemies. He is now in *Staffordshire* awaiting the comming of the Earle of *Denbigh* (who is made Generall of that and some other Counties adjacent,) with some Forces from *London*, and then he intends to revisit them.

From *Vlster* in the Kingdome of *Ireland* it is informed, That since the late Victorie obtained by Major Generall *Monroe*, and the slaying of twentie one hundred Rebels, that Province is almost cleered of the Rebels; And that the English and Scottish forces that are there should be wel able to defend themselves, and offend the enemy, if they had some more store of Victuals or Money sent them to procure it. They are much straightened for want of Provision, since the late taking of two Scottish Barkes (laden with victuals & meale for the Protestant Army there) by the *Dunkirke* Pyrats, who also sunke two other Barks that were comming with Provision into those parts, so that they shall bee much more distressed if a good ship be not sent to scowre their Seas from Pyrats.

The last Letters from *Dublin* afford us Intelligence of the affaires and state of things there to this effect. Wee hope our condition here will shortly bee much bettered, for since the Treaty of peace broken off with the Rebels, most of our Souldiers and other Inhabitants here generallie begin to take part with the Parliament of *England*, and find the great errors

unto which by the ſiniſter meanes of ſome great perſons they were ſeduced, ſo that we hope we ſhall bee able to keepe the Iriſh Rebels from comming over into *England* in ſuch great multitudes as they have done, which we ſhould never have had poſſibilitie to have done, if that Treaty had taken the effect which ſome of our Enemies deſired it might, but the Papiſts would utterly have ruined both *England* and *Ireland*, and wee ſhould not have been able to have helpt our ſelves. Wee are brought to great exigencie here through want of Proviſion, our Wheat is here ſold at twelve ſhillings the Buſhell, and our Rye at eight ſhillings. If we could receive ſome ſupplyes of Corne and other neceſſaries from *England*, and have ſome Ships ſent hither, to free our Coaſts from Pyrates at Sea; We are in great hopes to doe much good ſervice againſt the Rebels the remaining part of this Summer, and bee able by the next Winter (through Gods bleſſing) to ſtarve and ſubdue them.

Thoſe who come lately from *Holland*, and the Low Countries, informe us, that the well affected there doe much reſent the calamities and miſeries that this Kingdome ſuffers by ſo unnatural a Civill war, that they could wiſh that we would imitate their example in uniting our ſtrength and forces in a better manner then as yet wee have done, that they are much incenſed at the dealings of Prince *Rupert* and his brother P. *Maurice*, whoſe deſigne, they perceive, is to pillage and impoveriſh this Kingdome, and to tranſport into other parts moſt of the Gold, and Silver and other riches of it, which they obſerve is conſtantly done in an exceeding large manner to the admiration of all thoſe who ſee how currant our Engliſh Money is in thoſe parts by that meanes, and much deſire that wee would be more carefull of our own good, and to take a more exact courſe for the prevention of the like inconveniency, which (if not timely prevented) will in the end bring this Kingdome to much penury and want, and ſubject it as a prey unto the Popiſh party, and Papiſts who are obſerved to make both publike and private Collections in moſt places of the World, for to foment and nou-

riſh

rish the Civill Wars in *England*, and to maintaine their owne party now in Armes against the Parliament.

Many Irish, and other suspitious persons are daily observed to come over the Brickwall, over against the back doore of the Mulbery Garden, and by the negligence of some Sentinels are suffered to passe by the little Fort neer the Park corner. it would not be hurtfull to the City of *London*, if a more speciall care were taken of this and other things of the like nature.

Many Country people have lately fled from *Kent*, *Surrey*, and other places for feare of the Kings Forces, it were well if they would endeavour to bring what provision they can get, with them to *London*, for that a Proclamation hath been published in his Majesties name bearing date *July* the 27 (out of a tender love and affection to the subjects, and the respect is born to the Parliament) inhibiting any further trade or traffique with the City of *London* or bringing in any provision thither, so far have his evil Counsellours prevailed with him, not onely to deny the freedome of his Parliament, but also of all his Subjects in this City, both which (if it lay in his power) hee would by this Proclamation bring to destruction.

From *Oxford*, it is informed, that Master *Griffith*, the late Boutefeux and stirrer up of Sedition in this City, is for his good service done therein to the Cavaliers, advanced to the eminent title of Doctor, and that it is thought M. *Iohnson* the malignant Apothecary (a man formerly of great esteem & eminency in the City of *London*) shall be made President of the Physicians Garden, a great place and of small profit considering the estimation, which hee hath lost in this City, by professing himselfe so open an Enemy to the liberty of his Country.

From *Manchester* in *Lancashire* they write, That the resolute religious and never too much commended *Manchesterians* have sufficiently fortified themselves against the popish Army under the command of the Earle of *Newcastle*, so that they doe not feare to receive their assaults, whensoever they dare so be so hardie as to adventure upon them, adding withall, that if they had but 1000 of the *London* Dragoons they would undertake to go

through all *Yorkeshire* with them in despight of that Popish Armie; so that our *London* Malignants may satisfie themselves (notwithstanding their frequent vapourings to that purpose) that neither *Manchester*, *Beverly*, nor *Lincolne* (although they have not been ashamed to affirme it) are yet taken, nor are likely to be vanquished if this supply from *London* could be procured, for that the Army of the Newcastelians are much terrified at the report of the *London* Souldiers comming against them.

Our newes from *Lincolnshire* hath beene lately very good, and much beyond our expectation, for that it hath pleased God to give extraordinary successe unto those Forces of ours which continue there, which hath been in part already informed concerning the taking of *Gainsborough* by the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, and in it the Earle of *Kingston* 30 Knights, and about 20 other Gentlemen of estate in that County, and 250 taken prisoners, besides which (to compleat our thankfulnesse,) it was on Thursday July 20. informed by a Letter to a worthy Member of the House of Commons, that the siege which was made upon *Gainsborough* by the Earle of *Newcastles* forces (and which they thought to have suddenly surprized) is by the Magnanimitie and courage of Colonell *Cromwell* raised, who hath falne upon the Newcastelians, and taken 500 of them prisoners, and slaine 50 of them, and hath routed and dispersed the great concourse of their forces which came from *Newarke*, *Bradford*, *Leeds*, and other places in Yorkshire; Besides which it is also certainly informed from *Lincolnshire* that *Burley* house, a place which was strongly fortified, and a long while possessed by the Cavaliers, is also this weeke taken, and many prisoners in it by the Parliaments forces.

The Earle of *Kingston* (who (ye to heard before) was taken by the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham* in G. was by the said Lords commandement conducted by some of his forces in a Pinnace intending to carry him prisoner to *Hull* by water, but the Earle of *Newcastles* forces thinking to rescue him from them, summoned the Pinnace (in which he was) to bow saile, which the

Lord *willoughbies* forces refuſing, they ſhot violently at it, and as it ſo happened ſhot that rich Earle in the Pinnace, and ſo made him a priſoner unto death, from whence there is no hope of ranſome, recovery, or exchange.

To make our news from Lincolnſhire, yet more full and compleat, it was alſo this Thurſday certainly informed from thence that Col. *Cromwel* hath taken the Towne of *Stamford* in that County, and hath ſlain 200 and taken 300 of the Cavaliers in it priſoners, among which are many Commanders and Gentlemen of quality in that County.

On Thurſday, *July* 29. there came a Declaration from the generall Aſſembly in *Scotland*, to the Parliament of *England*, wherein it was declared that whereas the Kingdome of *England* had a long time ſuffered by the Popiſh and Malignant Councels about his Majeſty, and by other plots and deſignes of the Papiſts in this Kingdome, ſo they conceived, they of neceſſity muſt afterwards be Copartners in this dangerous ſufferings, and that the miſeries ſuſtained by us here in *England*, were but preparatives to theirs, and that through our ſides they were wounded, the ſuffering of the Religious and well affected here much intreaching upon them and that therefore they reſolved to aſsiſt the Parl. of England, our ſafety and theirs being ſo mutually bound up together.

Whereas it hath beene lately printed and publiſhed by many hands that the famous City of Briſtol hath bin theſe two or three dayes beſieged by the forces under the command of Prince *Maurice* and the Marqueſſe of *Hartford*. It is this day certainly informed from thence, that there is no ſuch thing as yet attempted, but that they are as yet in a very good condition and poſture of defence, and that Collonel *Fynes* hath lately ſtrongly fortified the Caſtle in that City, and placed as a Garriſon in it 600 able and expert ſouldiers, and hath alſo laid therein proviſion ſufficient for them for ſix moneths.

It is certain indeed, that Prince *Maurice* and the Marqueſſe were about a weeke ſince at *Cainſham* about five miles from *Briſtol*, but they durſt not adventure to make any onſet upon it

it, as knowing it was an enterprize beyond their strength to atchieve; which also may serve as a cooling card unto the Malignants, who this Thursday very confidently reported that the City of *Bristol* was yielded up upon composition unto the Kings forces, by which it appears that the taking of *Bristol*, *Gloucester*, *Manchester*, *Beverley*, and *Exeter*, all which they reported within a weeke past to be taken, were soone invented and suggested unto some of their Abettors, by the father of lyes, but not soon obtained.

On Thursday July 27, many well affected Citizens of London according to an order of the Committee (appointed upon their petition for that purpose), met at Marchantaylors hall, where many hundreds of them subscribed for Money, Horse, and Armes, for the further supply of the Army under the command of his Excellence; who (as is conceived) is shortly to goe into Kent, Surrey, and those parts if any of the Kings Forces should happen to appeare to the disturbance of those families which it is thought they will not, for that the Malignants in Kent are soneere quelled, and Captain *Sands* (a ring-leader of them) and about 300, more of them are taken prisoners by Colonel *Brown*, and he and others of the Parliament forces are ready to incounter with them.

This is Licensed and Entred into the Hall Booke according to order.

9

A LETTER FROM The Earl of *WARWICK*:

K. Rich.

RELATING
The taking of all the Forts, and 16 Pieces of Ordnance, from the Malignant Corniſh-men, that had before beſieged the City of EXETER.

TOGETHER WITH
An Apologie made by an Engliſh Officer of Qualitie, for leaving the Iriſh Wars:

Declaring the Deſigne at this time now on foot to reconcile the Engliſh and Iriſh together:

And by their joynt Power having expelled the Scotch and Iriſh Proteſtants, to bring their Popiſh Forces againſt the PARLIAMENT.

This is Licenſed, and Entred into the Regiſter-Book of the Company of Stationers, *according to Order.*

LONDON:
Printed for *John Partridge.*
July 29. 1643.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A

LETTER

FROM

THE EARL OF

WARWICK.

Maſter *Smith*,

I Have received Yours of the 11. of this Moneth, and am now in ſuch haſte, as I cannot ſay much to you: I am here at *Topſham Barre*, and have be-

gun by Gods blessing well yesterday, having taken all the Forts on both sides the River, and Sixteen Peece of Ordnance; and now have sent up some small Ships to secure the River, with Eight Hundred Land and Sea-men, I hope this day, if the rain hinder not, to give a good push to the Businesse I came for; I yesterday took one of their Companies, Captain *White* by name, a great Papist, and under the Marquesse *Hertfords* Commission, all his Popish trinkets about him. I have little Force with me, onely the *James*, *Swift-sure*, *Martin*, *Capt Dicke*, 2. *Whelps*, who are out of Victualls, and Danske also, so that it is not possible for me to send to *Carrickfergus*: Nay, I shall be puzzled how to send any Ship hence for a Convoy, with Ammunition to *Bristoll*, for want of Shipping: Therefore you must send them from *London* or *Bristoll*.

Captain *Batten* likewise Writes for more Ships, for fear of the *Danes*, and some

ſome leſſer ones, to guard that Coaſt, I have none: I *pray acquaint* the Committee with it, they muſt ſet out more Ships, if they will imploy ſo many, for in my life, I was never ſo put to it for want of Shipping, and there is but three on the Weſt end of the Channell, which is much too little.

What our Ships do at *Guernſey* and *Jerſie*, I know not: Aſſoon as I have done here, I muſt for the Iſle of *Weight*, to repleniſh the ſmall Ships with Victualls, and my ſelf. I pray give order that their Victualls meet us there, that are to come to them and to us. Captain *Bowen* is at *Portſmouth* ſetting a new Main-Maſt, *Somaſter* in the Downes, went after the *Marmaduke* to carry her in to you.

And where you write that the *French* Merchants deſire a Ship to go from hence to *Morlays*, to convoy ſome Veſſells they have there laden with Linnen, for this Kingdom, aſſoon as I have diſpatched

this Buſineſſe for *Exceſter*, I will endeavour to ſend ſome one of thoſe few Ships that are with me, if I can finde any of them ſo well furniſhed with Victualls for ſuch a Voyage.

As touching that buſineſſe of the *Hollanders*, and my Writing to *Trump*, I was by their Order to receive an Anſwer from *Trump*; And if the Committee received not ſatisfaction upon *Trumps* Letter to me, then I was to Write to Maſter *Strickland*: You have ſent me the Letter onely in *Dutch*, which I underſtand not.

I pray excuſe me to my Vice-Admirall, for not Writing to him at this time, and acquaint him, That I have no ſmall Ships for him, for the *Lucie* and the *Samuel*, which I purpoſed for him, I ſent them long ſince to the Coaſt of *Holland*, with Directions when they had done that Service, to repair to him, and if they be not gone to him, you muſt ſpeak to the Com-

Commitree to ſupply him with ſome ſmall Ships from *London*, for I have not any.

And ſo having no more for the preſent, being in great haſte,

I remain

Aboard the *Swift-ſure* at *Tylbam-Hope*, the 19 July 1643.

Your aſſured loving friend:

Warwicke.

AN

AN

APOLOGIE

MADE

By an Engliſh Officer *of Qualitie, for leaving the* Iriſh *Wars:*

Declaring

THE DESIGNE

At this time now on foot to reconcile the *ENGLISH and IRISH together:*

And by their joynt Power having expelled the SCOTCH and IRISH Proteſtants, to bring their Popiſh Forces againſt The PARLIAMENT.

I Perceive that unleſſe a Lord Lieutenant, well affected to Religion, be ſent over, or another Lord Generall, That all the Engliſh in Ireland *muſt come to ruine:*

For

For

1. All such as are well affected to Religion, and against the Rebells, are disgraced with aspersions of being Factious, and other lies devised against them, as against my Lord *Lysle* at *Ross* Battell, *That he should call one and offer ten pound for a guide to Duncannon*, which is well known to be a false blur cast upon him for his forwardnesse.

2. Many such, and the best of them are removed out of their places, as Sir *William Parsons* from being Lord Justice, Colonell *Monke* from being Governour of *Dublin* City, Doctor *Teate* from being Governour of the Colledge.

3. They are not entrusted with Imployments of weight, but some Commander or other in chief must be ever sent along, to see that too much service be not done at one time.

4. Or else they are that by some Irish spirit, that seems to be with us, but in heart against us, as Sir *Laurence Carye*, at the Town of *Swords*, and Sir *Charles Coote* at *Trym*.

5. Others thrust into Offices who are tooth and nail for the Irish, as the L. *Lambert* to be Governor of *Dublin* City, the Bishop of *Meath* Governor of the Colledge, Sir *George Wentworth*, a deadly profest enemy to the Parliament, to be chief Martiall, Captain *Burroughs*, an Irish man, to be Provost-Martiall, who hanged *Job Street*, a lusty able English man, who being forced by meer necessity, took 10. d. worth of bread from two Irish.

6. Such Irish Papists are known to have betrayed our Armies, as did the Earl of *Ormonds* Troop in the Voyage to *Drohedah*, and such as are caught in the fact robbing our English peoples goods, are nevertheless suffered to escape, and to continue Troopers still.

7. Such as have been taken in open Rebellion, and committed to the Castle, many of them are suffered to go at large, and we meet them daily in the streets.

8. Many of these that have been Indighted at the Kings-Bench for notorious Rebels, by set Juries of their friends, and some contrary to their Office and Oath, have been heard to plead for them in open Court, how honest and good house keepers they have been.

9. The chief Havens, which at first might have easily been taken, as *Wexford*, was least thought on, where the enemies have received more Ammunition and supplies then we have done: At the Battell of *Rosse*, when our men were entring the breach, and many fell, being shot out of the Town, they called for the Fire-balls to clear the way, but they were forgot, and none brought out with the Armie.

10. Before our Armies go forth the Rebells have aye warning to look to themselves, and notice which way our Forces are to go; By whom?

11. The Irish Papists, though they have been often caught sending Letters and Ammunition to the Rebells, and to harbour them, permitted to live amongst us, yea suffered to escape with little or no cesse and presse, our English are intollerably burthened, and many of them forced thereby to break and depart for *England*.

12. Such are protected, under pretence of sending relief to our Garrisons, as are known to murther our English when they finde opportunity.

13. After divers of our men have been shot and slain, in besieging Castles, the Rebells have fled by night, not a man of them hurt, our men have sometimes been charged under pain of death not to discharge at them.

14. Many prisoners have broken prison and escaped, as hath been reported by some, but by others it hath been said, *They have opened the door with a silver key.*

15. An English Serjeant about *Whitsontide* last, hearing there was a Priest in Bridge-street saying Masse, went according to an Order of

of the Board to take him, but the Priest having notice was gone, the Officer and his Souldiers seized only upon his Vestments and trumperies left behinde; their friend, the L. *Lambert*, hearing thereof, imprisons the souldiers, & swore some of them should be hanged for it.

16. Our best Ministers, as D. *Harding* and M. *Yates*, are silenced, that we have hardly any left to keep a fast with any life.

17. An English Papist (called *James Roome*) in S. *Patricks* street *Dublin*, being Plundered by the Souldiers, for suffering songs in his house made by the Irish women, wherein they cursed our Armies, triumphed for the losse of *Ballanakell*, and prayed for the Rebels prosperity; whereto he said, Amen; and bade them to sing it again: had his liberty and goods restored him, by the L. *Lambert*: and the Souldiers were committed.

18. *Ballanekell*, the very key of our Garrisons in *Leinster*, wherein were 300 valiant men, who did as much as men could do, were neglected 5 whole weeks together, and no help sent them, till they were inforced to yeeld; to the utter disheartning of the rest of our Garrisons.

19. Our Armies are usually sent forth, sometimes on Sundayes, sometimes on Fast-dayes, after this sin hath been openly Preached against in the hearing of the Lord Generall and other Commanders.

20. All the Pillage seized on by the Officers and the famished Souldiers, when great preys have been taken, were not permitted to kill a beast to relieve their hunger.

21. The generall abounding of all open sins without any restraint.

22. The L. *Tuffe* hath been suffered to come and go to the Rebels with directions, which few of the Privy Counsell have been acquainted with.

23. Some of our Preachers have declaimed against the bloody

Rebels cruelties, thereby to excite the Souldiers to resolution in prosecution of the wars against them, have been declaimed against by others for bloody Preaching and Praying, and charged to desist from such extravagancies.

24. Some have directly and professedly Preached for mercy to be shewed to these merciless Rebels, as Arch-Deacon *Buckley*, and the Bishop of *Meath*, who said in a Sermon before the State, *That four sorts of them should be saved*; viz. 1. *Children.* 2. *Women.* 3. *Labourers.* 4. *All that resist not*: Yet women are worse then men.

25. A faction is fomented among our selves to take off our Souldiers from the Rebells, and to turn their edge against the Parliament, and to this end tend many of the Sermons that have been Preached many a day before the State, containing nothing but most bitter Invectives against the Schismatiques (as they call them) and hardly a word is to be heard to proceed from any of them against the Rebels, except the Bishop of *Down*, who glanced against them at the first, and yet in the end affirmed, *The Schismatiques to be worse then them.*

26 Likewise M. *Yates* being called before the Arch-Bishop for a Sermon he Preached, after some conference, he taxing the Arch-Bishop for taking a Lecture from him, and giving it to a common Drunkard; reply was made by the Arch-Deacon *Buckley* his son, that was there present, That Lecturers had more disturb'd the peace of the Church and Common-wealth, then ever they did good: and it had been well if never none had been: The Bishop likewise said, That so long as he had power, there should be none in his Jurisdiction.

27. Also Captain *Lucas* coming to *Dublin*, to convey some corn by Land thither, having been often at the Councell, to demand relief for him and his men (it being often by them promised) was demanded, If whether he was able, as also whether he was willing to fetch in Captain *Plunket*: He answered, He was able he thought: but Captain *Plunket* being imployed by the Parliament,

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as well as he, he could by no means betray that truſt in him repoſed, and he demanded, what would be if he ſhould ſinke him? They anſwered, They were able to ſecure him: But he anſwered, If they were able to ſecure him here, yet they could not in *England*, where his wife and children and eſtate is; As alſo he was forced to diſcharge 30 of his men for want of means, and thereby unable for that ſervice.

28. Our laſt Army going forth in May, continuing forth 5 weeks, when we expected great ſervice to be done, there was done nothing. It was ſo ordered, that the Battering pieces which ſhould have gone with them, came not to them till a fortnight after. Then we expected that *Ballaſhanan* Caſtle, that hath cut off ſo many of our men, ſhould have been taken: but it was protected by whom not known, though Captain *Armſtrong* at the ſame time had like to have been ſlain by ſome of them: And likewiſe *Athy* Caſtle, which hath done much miſchief to our men: In all the Rebels wealth thereabout was, when the men and pieces were drawn up to it, they ſhewed a Paper Protection by Sir *Arthur Loftus*, Governour of the *Naas*. Likewiſe, the ſame night, our men Quartering near the ſaid Caſtle, their Horſes were ſtollen by them, and fetcht from them by violence by the Souldiers, who with the Officers alſo, were ready to run mad for anger that they might not take it.

29. The day before the Earl of *Ormond* went to the Treaty, being the 22 of *June*, the chief Proteſtants of the City were called before the Councell, to know if they would give 20000*l*. or have a Ceſſation: They anſwered, They were utterly unable, and were grieved to hear the Officers complain, and to ſee the Souldiers go bare-foot and bare-legg'd, and the City undone; and would be loath to ſee them that had kill'd their friends and kinſfolks, walke *Dublin* ſtreets, yet durſt not call them Rebels. Whereupon they were diſmiſt, and the next day they went to treat.

30. The Parliament, with all thoſe that are employed by them for the good of the Kingdom, are notoriouſly abuſed, to the great

grief of all good people; as may appear by the baſe uſage of Capt. *Smith*, captain of the *Swallow*, by captain *Flower*, a profeſt enemy to the Parliament, giving him many opprobrious ſpeeches, calling him Traytor and Round-head, &c. urging him to draw, ſo that he was fain to withdraw himſelf, fearing further danger.

31. But a more inhumane carriage was ſhewed to the Maſter of the *Swallow*, a faithfull and honeſt man in his place, who coming to the Globe Tavern in *Caſtle-ſtreet*, *Dublin*, to ſee ſome of his friends, who there called for ſome Sack, and was anſwered by the maſter of the Tavern, That he had none for ſuch Rebels and Traytors, &c. as he was; and threatned, if he would not be gone, he would fetch a Guard of Muskettiers to bring him thence: Thence going to the Fleece Tavern, and there demanding a bed for his money, was anſwered as at the Globe, and a Guard of Muskettiers was ſent for by the Vintner, maſter of the houſe, with a Corporall, who by force brought him to the Guard, of which Lievtenant *Congreave* was captain, a deadly enemy to the Parliament, who preſently, in moſt baſe manner, reviled him: an honeſt neighbour, who being there before, having ſent for ſome Beer for the Souldiers; the ſaid Lievtenant drank a Health to the confuſion of the Parliament, whom he called Rogues and Traytors and would have forced the Maſter to have drank it: but he anſwered, They were honeſt men, and he would rather die then drink it: whereupon the Lievtenant anſwered, He would make him confeſſe that either the Parliament, or Lords Juſtices were Rogues and Traytors, before the morning, or he would hang him: the Maſter replyed, They might do with him what they pleaſed, he being in their hands; and that they were but boyes, and he an ancient man: Whereupon they with Match drew his neck and his heels together, in ſo violent a manner, as though they would have killed him; but by the intreaty of the honeſt man there preſent, he was unbound, and cauſed to lie upon the boards all night; from whence he was the next morning by the Serjeant of the Guard releaſt: The Councell have likewiſe given order for the apprehending of the captain of the *Swallow*, if by any means they can come by him.

32. A Treaty of Peace, or ceſſation of Arms is in agitation, now the Rebels are driven to ſuch exigencies, as that they ſee now they cannot longer ſubſiſt otherwiſe, are likely to periſh for want, if our Souldiers might be ſuffered to pillage them, and now it is well known they want Powder. The intent of it is, ſo far as all honeſt, loyall, and religious Subjects conjecture, The ruine of all the *Britiſh* Nation, as appears by the relation of Miſtris *Dillon*, who is a good Proteſtant, and her husband a Papiſt among the Rebels both of them, ſhe heard them amongſt themſelves to ſay; *That their intent is, After this Treaty, they will draw down their Forces to the Scots, and cut them off; then that being finiſhed, they would cut off the Engliſh.* And alſo a moſt execrable Oath after this is concluded on to be adminiſtred to all the Proteſtants that are well-affected to the Parliament; which if they refuſe to take, they ſhall be all pillaged.

The premiſes conſidered, I conceive that this may ſuffice to make mine excuſe.

The Lord look down upon his poor Church in Ireland.

FINIS.

BRITISH MUSEUM

10

IRELANDS EXCISE,

Chas I.

BY

The Lords, Iustices, and Councell there.

As it was Given at his Maiesties Castle in *Dublin* 24. *Iune*, 1643.

LONDON,
Printed by *F. Leach*, for *Michaell Sparke Senior*, and *Iunior*.
Anno Dom. 1643. *July* 29.

IRELADS EXCISE, BY The Lords, Iuſtices and Councell there.

Io. Borlaſe. *Hen. Tichborne.*

WE having taken into our ſerious conſideration the preſent State and conditiou of this Kingdome, doe by this Our Proclamation in purſuance of an Act of Councell made at this Board, bearing date 6. of *Iune* 1643. Publiſh and Declare that for the reaſons in the ſaid Act of Councell conteined, and for the raiſing of a Summe of money weekely, towards the maintenance of the Army for ſix Moneths next enſuing, that there be during the time aforeſaid (if the neceſſities of the Army be not in the interim otherwiſe releeved) a rate and impoſition ſet upon the particulars hereafter mentioned, in manner and forme hereafter expreſſed, to be duly paid unto *Thomas Leigh*, *Daniel Foſter*, and *Iohn Wogen*, Gentlemen; upon whom We have for the preſent conferred the Office of Impoſt-maſters, or to ſuch as ſhall be lawfully Authorized to be the Impoſt-maſters, and at the Office appointed to be keept at the Houſe of *Henry King* in Caſtle-ſtreet for the Impoſt Office, by ſuch perſons & in ſuch manner as hereafter is Declared and that the Monies ariſing thereupon bee weekely paid by the ſaid Impoſt-maſters, unto His Majeſties Vice-Treaſurer and Treaſurer at Wars, to be by Him iſſued towards the reliefe of the Army, in ſuch manner and forme as by Vs the Lords, Iuſtices and Councell ſhall be directed.

The rate or impoſition upon Ale or Beare, bought of the Brewer, to be retailed or brought from forraigne Countries into this Kingdome, and bought here to be retailed,

ted, viz. *Ale and Beere of sixteene shillings or eighteene shillings per Barrell, to pay eight shillings Imposition per Barrell and so rateably for other gages, and to be retailed at three pence per Quart, and no more.*

Beere of eight shillings or ten shillings per Barrell, to pay five shillings Imposition per Barrell, and so rateably for other gages, and to be retailed at two pence per Quart, and no more.

Beere of five shillings or six shillings per Barrell, to pay three shillings Imposition per Barrell, and so rateably for other gages, and to be retailed at one penny per Quart, and no more.

The Rate or Imposition of Ale or Beere spent in any private House, whether the same be brewed by the persons themselves that spend it, or bought from the Brewers, or forraigne parts, viz.

Ale or Beere of sixteene shillings or eighteen shillings per Barrell, to pay foure shillings Imposition per Barrell, and so rateably for other gages.

Beere of eight shillings or ten shillings per Barrell, to pay two shillings Imposition per Barrell, and so rateably for other gages.

Beere of five shillings or six shillings per Barrell, to pay twelve pence Imposition per Barrell, and so rateably for other gages.

The Rate or Imposition of Ale or Beere to be retailed by them that brew it, viz. All manner of strong Ale or Beere to pay ten shillings imposition per Barrell, and so rateably for other gages, and to be sold at three pence per Quart, and no more.

All Ordinary Ale or Beere to pay three shillings foure pence Imposition per Barrell, and so rateably for other gages, to be sold a penny per Quart, and no more.

The Rate or Imposition upon Wines bought to be sold againe by retaile, viz. All manner of French Wines racke or unracke, to pay six pounds Imposition per Tonne, accounting foure Hogsheads to the Tonne and all other smaller gages rateably, and to be retailed at eight pence per Quart, and no more.

All Wines of the Spanish growth racke or unracke, to pay six pound Imposition per Pipe or But, and all other smaller gages rateably, and to be retailed at one shilling foure pence per Quart, and no more.

The Rate or Imposition upon Wines bought or brought into private Houses for their owne uses, viz. All manner of French Wines racke or unracke, to pay three pound Imposition per Tonne, accounting foure Hogsheads to the Tonne, and all other gages rateably.

All Wine of the Spanish growth racke or unracke, to pay three pound Imposition per Pipe or But, and all other smaller gages rateably.

The Rate or imposition upon Aquavita and all manner of Hot waters viz. Aquavita and all Hot waters bought or sould to be retailed againe, to pay two shillings Imposition per Gallon.

Aquavita and all Hot waters bought or sold by or to any that shall not retaile the same againe to pay 12. pence imposition per Gallon.

The Rate or Imposition upon Cattle slaughtered to be sold, viz.

All manner of Oxen, Bulls, Cowes, Steers, and Bullocks, to pay 4 shillings le peece Imposition.

All Calves to pay two shillings le peece Imposition.

All Swine, above six weeks old, and all Sheepe, and Goats, to pay twelve pence le peece Imposition.

All Lambs, and Kidds, to pay six pence le peece Imposition.

The Rate and Imposition of Cattle, slaughtered by any to Salt up for their owne uses, or to eate or spend fresh in their owne Houses, viz. All manner of Oxen, Bulls Cowes, Steeres and Bullocks, to pay two shillings le peece Imposition.

All Calves to pay 12 pence le peece Imposition. All Swine above 6. weeks old, and all Sheepe, and Goats to pay 6. pence le peece Imposition.

All Lambs, and Kidds to pay three pence le peece Imposition.

1. And for the better performance, and due execution of all and singular the premisses. We doe hereby in his Majesties name, strictly Charge and command, that from and after the publishing of this Proclamation no manner of person or persons whatsoever, within liberties or without, doe brew *Ale or Beere*, or distill *Aquavitæ*, or any hot waters within the Citty or Suburbs of *Dublin*, 16 miles of the said City, untill such time as he, or they first enter his and their names at the said Impost Office and there receive admittance to brew *Ale* and *Beere*, or to distill *Aquavitæ*, and hot waters, upon paine of five pounds.

2. That every Brewer of *Ale* or *Beere*, and every distiller of *Aquavitæ*, and hot waters, from and after such admittance keepe an exact Account of the Quality, and Quantity of all the *Beere*, *Ale*, *Aquavitæ* and hot Waters, he or they shall Brew or Distill, upon paine of *five Pounds* for every *Brewing*, or Distilling whereof he shall neglect to keepe such account.

3. That no Brewer, Brew any other Sorts of *Ale*, or *Beere*, then *Ale* or *Beere* of 18. *shillings*, 16. *shillings*, 10. *shillings*, 8. *shillings*. Six *shillings*, or Five *shillings* the Barrell, upon the like paine of *five pounds*, for every time, he shall Brew any other sort of *Ale*, or *Beare*.

4. That no Brewer of *Ale* or *Beare*, do dispose, sell, or any wayes suffer any *Ale*, or *Beere* to goe forth of his House other then such *Ale*, or *Beere*, as he shall retaile by the Gallon, or a lesser measure, before the Impost thereof be paid, and a Billet for the payment thereof; and of the true quality and quantity of the said *Ale* or *Beere* delivered him or his Clarke, out of the said Impost office, upon paine of 3. *Pound* for every Barrell so delivered for the first Offence, and 6. *Pounds*, for every Barrell so delivered for the *Second* Offence, and 10. *Pounds*, for every Barell so delivered for the *third* Offence.

5. That no person or persons whatsoever receive, or cause to be received into his or any other House any *Beere*, or *Ale* untill such time as the impost thereof be paid, and a Billet obtained from the Impost Office of the true quality and quantity of the said *Ale*, and *Beere*, and for the payment of the Impost for the same *Ale* and *Beere*, upon paine of three pound for every Barrell so received, for the first of-

fence,

fence, and six pounds a Barrell so received for the second offence, and ten pounds a Barrell so received for the third offence.

6. That every Brewer of Ale or Beere, that retailes any Ale or Beere in his owne house, or any other house, doe within twenty foure houres after the Tonning of his Beere or Ale, enter or cause to be entred the full proportion, quality and quantity thereof in the said Impost-office, and there pay the Impost for the same, upon paine of 3. pound *per* Barrell for the first offence, and six pounds *per* Barrell for the second offence, and ten pounds *per* Barrell for the third offence.

7. That all private House-keepers of what degree or quality soever they be, shall within twenty foure houres after the Tonning of their Beere or Ale which they shall brew, enter, or cause to be entered the full proportion, quality, and quantity thereof in the said Impost-office, and pay the most for the same upon paine of thirty shillings for every Barrell so Tonned for the first offence, and fifty shillings for every Barrell so Tonned for the second offence, and six pounds for every Barrell so Tonned for the third offence.

8. That no manner of person convey, or cause to be conveied out of the Fortifications of *Dublin*, any Malt without Licence or Tiquet from the said Impost-office, that the same shall be admitted to be conveyed to a place licenced for Brewing, or otherwise to pay ten shillings *per* Barrell Impost, for all the Malt that shall be so conveyedout of the said fortifications upon paine of five pounds *per* Barrell for every default.

9. That euery buyer of any forraigne Beere imported into this Harbour, and Cellered, fetch his Tiequet from the Impost-office, of the true quantity of the Beere so by him bought, and pay the Impost set upon the same, and if the Proprietor do otherwise dispose thereof, he is to pay the Impost for the same, upon paine of forty shillings for every Barrell so disposed of.

10. That all Ale and Beere be tonned in Hogsheads, Barrells, halfe Barrells, and quarter Barrells, of thirty two gallons the Barrell, and no other proportions upon paine of forfeiture of the Ale and Beere that shall be tonned in any other vessells, and the same vessells to be knockt in peeces.

11. That all Brewers, Merchants, Retailers, and private house keepers, and all others that have Beere, Ale or Wine in their houses, Cellers, or store houses, doe within three dayes after the publishing of this proclamation bring into the said Impost-office, a true note of the quantity, and quality of the Beere, Ale, and Wines they have in their Houses, Cellars, or Store-houses, and that they that intend to spend, or retaile the same, pay for the same the Moyety of the Impost set upon such Ale, Beere and Wines, respectively, as are hereafter to be bought of Marchant or the Brewer, upon paine of forty shillings for every Barrell of Ale or Beere, and so for other proportions after the same rate, and upon paine of five pounds for every Hogshead of French Wines, and so rateably for all other gages, and upon paine of six shillings for every gallon of Spanish Wine that shall not be so certified.

12. That

12. That all Brewers that do not retaile Beere or Ale, ſhall be conſidered of by Commiſſioners in that behalfe, to be authorized for the Beere and Ale they ſpend in their own houſes, according to the diſcretion of the ſaid Commiſſioners.

13. That all Marchents and others that ſhall import any Wines or Beere into this harbor of *Dublin*, or within ſix miles of the ſame, do before the landing thereof deliver a true note into the hands of the Impoſt-maſters, of the quality, and quantity of the Wines and Beere, he and they intend to land, and to land no more then he or they ſhall ſo certifie, upon paine of forfeiture of the Wines & Beere ſo landed, and not certified.

14. That no Merchant or other Seller of Wines or Beere by whole ſale, diſpoſe, ſell or ſuffer to go forth of his houſe, Cellar or Store-houſe any Wines, French or Spaniſh, or any Beere, before the Impoſt thereof be paid and a Billet or Ticquet thereof obtained from the ſaid Impoſt-office, upon paine of ten pounds for every Hogſhead of French Wine, twelve ſhillings for every Gallon of Spaniſh Wine, and forty ſhillings for every Bartell of Beere ſo deliverd without Ticquet, and ſo ratably for greater or leſſer quantities.

15 That no manner of perſons receive or cauſe to be received into his or any other houſe any Wines of what ſort ſoever, untill ſuch time as the Impoſt thereof be paid, and a Ticqute or Billet for the payment thereof obtained from the Impoſt-maſters, upon paine of ten pounds for every Hogſhead of French Wine, and 12. ſhillings for every gallon of Spaniſh Wine receive without Ticquet, and ſo ratably for greater or leſſer quantities.

16. That no Merchant Vintner or other, ſell any Wine by whole ſale, or retaile, before ſuch time as his name be entred in the ſaid Impoſt-office, and there receive admittance for the ſame, upon paine of five pounds.

17. That all Merchants and others, that have, or ſhall have any wines to ſell, and ſhall not retaile the ſame, ſhall be rated, and conſidered of by the ſaid Commiſſioners according to their diſcretions, both for the Wines which ſhall be ſpent in their Houſes, and the Lecage.

18. That all Vintners and others that ſhall retaile Wines ſhall be in like manner conſidered of by the ſaid Commiſſioners for their ſpending and Lecage wine, according to the diſcretions of the ſaid Commiſſioners.

19. That no Diſtiller of *Aquavita* or hot waters, or any other importing the ſame by Sea or land, by way of Merchandize, doe ſell or retaile any *Aquavita* or hot waters under the quantity of one whole gallon at a time, unleſſe the Impoſt be firſt payd, and a Ticquet thereof obtained from the Impoſt-office, upon paine of ten ſhillings for every gallon ſo ſold.

20. That no Retailer or other doe buy the quantity of a gallon or more of any *Aquavita* or hot waters at any Diſtillers, or of any others, importing the ſame as aforeſaid, and that ſell the ſame, unleſſe the Impoſt thereof be firſt paid, and a Ticquet obtained from the Impoſt-maſters for the payment thereof, upon paine of ten

ſhillings

ſhillings for every gallon of *Aquavita* or hot waters ſo bought.

21. That all ſuch perſons as have *Aquavita* or hot waters in their houſes, Cellars or Shops to ſell, doe within three dayes after the puliſhing of this Proclamation, deliver into the Impoſt-office a true note of what quantity of *Aquavita* or hot waters they have in their houſes, Cellars, or Shops, and pay the Moyety of the Impoſt ſet upon *Aquavita* and hot waters, hereafter to be diſtilled, and ſold upon paine of ten ſhillings for every gallon of *Aquavita* and hot waters that are in the ſaid houſes, Cellars or Shops, and not ſo certified.

22. That no manner of perſon whatſoever ſell any *Aquavita* or hot waters by whole ſale or retaile, until ſuch time as his name bee enued into the ſaid Impoſt-office, and there receive admittance for the ſame, upon paine of five pounds.

23. That all Butchers and others, that ſhall ſlaughter any kind or ſort of Cattle before mentioned to ſell, doe before he or they ſlaughter any beaſt, enter into the ſaid Impoſt-office, the number and kinds of Cattle or beaſts, that hee or they intend to ſlaughter, and pay the Impoſt for the ſame, and obtaine a Ticquet thereof from the Impoſt-office upon paine of five poundes for every Oxe, Bull, Cow, Steere and Bullock, and upon paine of three pounds for every Calfe, and twenty ſhillings for every Sheepe, Swine, Goat, Lamb, Kid ſo ſlaughtered.

24. That no manner of perſon or perſons whatſoever ſlaughter any of the ſaid kindes of Cattle or beaſts before mentioned, either to ſalt up for his owne uſe, or to ſpend, or eate freſh in his owne houſe, until ſuch time as the number and kindes of ſuch Cattle or beaſts, as he or they intend to Slaughter, be firſt entred into the ſaid Impoſt-office, and the Impoſt ſet upon the ſame paid, and a Ticquet thereof obtained from the ſaid Impoſt-office, upon paine of five pounds for every Oxe, Bull, Cow, Steere & Bullock, & upon paine of three pounds, for every Calfe, and upon paine of twenty ſhillings, for every Sheepe, Swine, Goat, Lambe and Kidd, ſo ſlaughtered.

25. That all manner of perſons that ſhall kill, or ſlaughter any of the kindes of Cattle, or Beaſts, before mentioned, within this City or Suburbs of *Dublin* or within ſixe miles of the ſame, or that ſhall bring or ſend any of the ſaid kinds of Cattle, or Beaſts, into this Citty or Suburbs ready killed, to be ſold, or ſalted up, doe before the ſale, or ſlaughtering of ſuch Beaſts, enter the number and kindes of the ſame, ſo be ſold or ſlaughtered, in the ſaid Impoſt-office, and pay Impoſt for the ſame, after the ſame rate, as is hereby appointed to be paid for Cattle ſlaughtered by the Butcher, and obtaine a Ticquet from the Impoſt-office for the ſame, upon paine of five pounds for every Oxe, Bull, Cow, Steere and Bullock, and upon paine of three pounds for every Calfe, and upon paine of twenty ſhillings for every Sheepe, Swine, Goat, Lambe, and Kidd, ſo ſlaughtered or ſold.

26. That all the paines, penalties, and forfeitures hereby impoſed, or ſet upon ſuch as ſhall offend in any of the before mentioned premiſſes, bee leavied upon the goods and chattles of the offenders, and to be paid to the ſaid Impoſt-maſters, and

the

the one moiety thereof by them given to the Informer, and the other to be paid to His Maj. ties Vice-Treasurer and Treasurer at Warrs, to be by him ifſued out and accompted for, to the uſe of the Army in manner and forme aforeſaid. And We require the Major and Sheriffes of the City of *Dublin*, to cauſe this Proclamation to be forthwith publiſhed and Proclaimed, thorowout this City and Suburbs of *Dublin*.

Given at His Maieſties Caſtle of Dublin, *the 24. day of* June. 1643.

R. Bolton. Canc. *La. Dublin.* *Ormond* *Roſcomon.*

Moore. *Edw. Brabazon.* *Ant. Midenſis.* *Cha. Lambert.*

Ad. Loſint. *Geo Shurley.* *W. Parſons.* *Gerrard Lowther.*

I. Temple. *Tho. Rotherham.* *Fr. Willoughby.* *Tho. Lucas.*

Ia. Ware. *G. Wentworth.* *Rob. Meredith.*

God ſave the King.

This is Licenced and entred into the Regiſter Booke of the Company of Stationers according to Order.

A TRUE AND EXACT

RELATION

Of the whole proceedings of the Parliaments Forces, that went out under the command of Colonel *Brown* with Colonell *Manwerings* Forces into

KENT,

To appeaſe the tumult raiſed there by the Malignants and ill-affected to the

PARLIAMENT.

VVherein is a true Relation of the taking of the Towne of Tunbridge, which hertofore was never conquered; and by what means it was taken, and the loſſe that was on both ſides.

With many other obſervable paſſages related by one that was not only an eye witneſſe, but in the whole ſervice.

Publiſhed according to Order.

29 July
Printed by *R. Auſtin* and *A. Coe.* 1643.

A TRUE AND EXACT

RELATION

Of the whole proceedings of the Parliaments Forces, that went out under the commiss of Colonel [illegible] with Colonel [illegible] Forces into

KENT

To appease the tumult [illegible] there by the Malignants and ill-affected [illegible]

PARLIAMENT.

Wherein is a true Relation of the taking of the Towne of Tunbridge, which hertofore was never conquered, and by what means it was taken, and the loss that was on both sides.

With many other observable passages related by one that was not only an eye witnesse, but in the whole service.

Published according to Order.

Printed by R. Austin and A. Coe. 1643.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A TRUE AND EXACT

RELATION

Of the whole proceedings of the Parliament Forces into KENT.

Upon *Munday* last, we marched thorough *Sywock*, about which the said Combustion did first begin, but finding none of the adverse party there, we hastened towards *Tunbridge*, where wee had intelligence, that a strong party of them lay being a place, by nature very strongly fortified, and before we came to make any assault upon the Town, Colonell *Browne* sent a Trumpeter to them to summon them to yeeld up the Towne and to lay down their Armes, whereupon they returned answer to this effect; That they stood for their ancient Lawes and Customes, without which they refused to lay down their Armes, but desired to treat further about the said businesse, upon which, Colonell *Browne* sent them word, that he would come and treat with them himselfe. And so about

about three of the clocke in the after-noone, a part of our Forces having marched about nine miles that day: Wee approached within halfe a mile of the Town, where wee discovered the Enemy upon a hill within a quarter of a mile of the Towne, upon which our Souldiers expressed much joye, and were exceeding forward to fall upon them: After which three or foure files of Musquetteers were drawne out upon the forlorn-hope, and marched down into a bottome, neere to the Enemy, through a lane where we could march but six a breast, there being in the bottome, a narrow Bridge, where the Enemy lay in Ambuscado, and charged upon us before we perceived them, yet thorough Gods mercy, there was but one man of us hurt (being of the left-hand File) which was shot thorow the thigh, but not killed: we charged them again, but running away, they escaped: Then we played upon them with two Drakes, and forced them into the Towne: Wee drew neerer to them, and both with our Drakes and Musket shot did much annoy the Enemy, who having the advantage of a Towne of such consequence, and houses, and other places of refuge, they bold us fight for about three or foure houres together, after which perceiving the Enemy forces to begin to fly, wee marched up to the very Towne, with our body of Foot (the Horse having little opportunity to performe any considerable service) and et our entrance into the Towne, the Enemy gave us a volley of shot, but did us little hurt, onely Sergeant Major *Rowes* Ensigne was slaine.

Having thus entered the towne and finding the enemie,

mie to, fly command was given to the Horſe to purſue them towards the Bridge, which the Enemy perceiving, many of them left the Bridge and leaped into the River, and were drawned; others that got over the River, left the high wayes and betooke themſelves to by pathes and hedges, but if night had not overtaken us, we had taken, in all probability, all their Horſe (as we did a great part) and few of their Foot had eſcaped.

The neighbouring Towns were very joyfull at our enterance into this Town, and the next morning hundred and fifty Dragoones came in to us, profering their aid and aſsiſtance, and there being five hundred of the Malevolents at a Town called Yawlden, about ſix miles from Tunbridge, the ſtrength of the County came againſt them and put them to flight.

Wee tooke a hundred and fifty priſoners, but the next day ſome of them were releaſed, and the reſt being a hundred and foure, wee have brought away to Synocke, beſides the Miniſter of the Towne, who is a great Malignant, and had a hand in inviting the Cava-

liers thither, & an ancient Gentleman which is thought to bee one of their chiefe Commanders.

We loſt in all ſix of our men, whereof the Enſigne before mentioned, was the chiefe, and notwithſtanding the great advantage the Enemy had in the Towne, we found three men dead in the ſtreets, beſides thoſe that were drowned in the River, and one man (being mortally wounded) deſired our Souldiers to put him out of his paine, whereupon ſome of our Souldiers asking who was their chiefe Leader or Commander, he anſwered, hee knew not, but he thought, the Devill.

It ſeemed that the Enemy expected aide and aſsiſtance from other places, which failed them; for during the fight they rung the bels hackwards, yet none durſt come to aid them: What ſtrength they had was not certainly knowe, but they had both Horſe and Foot, and ſome Armes, though many of them were forced to make uſe of Birding-peeces, yet to ſhew their malice they which we tooke priſoners had many of them poyſoned bullets in their pockets.

Thus

Thus having given a faithfull and true Relation of ſuch things as happened in our marching upon this ſervice and having ſo much diſperſed them that as we knew not where to find them, ſo will it be hard for them to gather togeather again, we returned to Synocke with our priſoners, where the Army doth as yet remaine, and a Counſell of War is this day holden to proceed to tryall of ſuch priſoners as we have taken, and if the Malignants are not wholly diſipated and diſperſed we ſhall be ready to performe ſuch ſervice as may tend to the good and ſafety of the Kingdome and the Peace and proſperity of the Common-wealth, againſt all that ſhall raiſe and increaſe the diviſions and diſtractions of the State, and make the breach greater between the King and the Parliament.

FINIS.

Imprimatur, July 28. 1643.

This is licensed, and entred into the Register of the Company of Stationers, according to Order.

Rex meus est Deus.

OR,

A SERMON

Preached at the Common Place in CHRISTS-CHURCH in the City of *Norwich*.

By G. Downham

Scatter thou the People that delight in warre. Psal. 68.30.

LONDON. Printed in the Yeare. 1643.

A SERMON

Preached at the Common Place in Christ-Church in the City

CIVITATI *LONDINENSI*

Salutem et quietem

a *IESU CHRISTO*

humiliter precatur

G. D.

Rex meus est Deus

OR

A SERMON

Preached at the Common Place in CHRIST-CHURCH, in the City of *Norwich.*

Gen. 4. 7.

If thou doe well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sinne lieth at the doore, and unto thee shal be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him.

AS there was never any history in the world, comparable to the books of *Moses*, either for antiquity of time, or for latitude of extent, or for variety of matters monumentable, and none of *Moses* his works for all respects like this of *Genesis*: so neither is there any particular passage of this booke more memorable then the relation of *Cains* parricide: wherein we have a man killing a man, a bad man a good man, a brother slaying a brother, an elder brother a yonger brother, hatred and envie moving Gen 4.8.

 action

action in the one, virtue and goodnesse occasioning passion in the other One of the first riddles that ever was made; the first man that ever was born, killed the first man that ever died.

..17. 10. Which God foreseeing, who is καρδιογνώστης, the only searcher and knower of mens hearts, *Cui pervium omne solidum, apertum omne secretum, cui obscura clarant, muta respondent*, as *Leo* wittily. To whom every solid thing is pervious & transparent, every secret thing open and manifest, to whom dark things shine bright, dumbe things speake loud, from whom nothing can be hidden or conceal'd. I say this omniscient power perceiving the malicious intentions of this malevolous wretch against his innocent brother, doth in the words of my text labour to prevent it by disswading him from committing so horrible a sinne by these three arguments,

Leo.

The text divided. The first is *argumentum ab utili*, a reason drawn from profit and comfort in well doing: *nonne si bene egeris remissio?* If thou do well, shalt thou not be accepted? The second is *Argumentum ab inutili*, an argument taken from the unprofitablenesse of the contrary, doing not well, *si verò non bene egeris, præ foribus est peccatum excubans*, and if thou doest not well sin lieth at the doore. Lastly, here is *Argumentum ab æquo et bono*, a reason drawn from right and equity, *at erga te est appetitus illius, & tu præes illi* And unto these shall be, &c. And these are the measures of your patience and of this time, of them in order, and first of the first argument, which is taken from the comfort and profit that ariseth from well doing, *si bene egeris* if thou doe well, shalt not thou bee accepted?

1 Argument.

The first argument subdivided. In it there are two things considerable: a work and a reward. The worke supposed, *if thou do well*; the reward promised, *shalt thou not be accepted?* the question putting it out of question: of these first jointly and by themselves, and afterwards as they are put together, where I will shew you, how our doing well makes us to be accepted: The first I divide again into these three particulars. First, the work or duty itself, *Doe*. 2 the manner of performing it well. 3 the person admonished to performe it, *Cain*, shadowed under the pronoune primitive *Thou*: first of the worke or duty itself, *Doe*.

1. 2. 1. 2. 3. 1.

Doe.

By which is understood the conformity of our whole carriage unto Gods will revealed in his law: not that we can performe obedience to the Law legally, that is, in that perfection which the law requireth, for in many things we offend all, saith the Apostle: but when I speak of doing the will of God, I meane, that we should conform our selves

James 3, 2.

and

all our actions according to the rule of the Law, after an evangelical manner, that is, we must desire, resolv, and endeavor to conform unto it as perfect obedience as we can: and this doing of the word and fulfilling of the law, almighty God accepteth for his sons sake, who hath in all points and parts perfectly fulfilled the law for all those that believe.

Without doing, no salvation.

But without this doing of the will of God, there can be no salvation, for as the law saith, Doe this and live; so Christ in the Gospel pronounceth them onely blessed that so doe: therefore this was Saint *Pauls* first Querie, *Lord what wilt thou have me to doe?* and likewise the poor Goaler, *Sirs, what shall I doe to be saved?*

Luke 11. 28. Act. 9. 6. Acts 16 30.

Which condemneth the carnall gospellers of these times, that are all for faith, and nothing for works, that believe they shall be saved as soon as the rest, but they have nothing to shew for it; but this shewing the Apostle will have, *Iam.* 2. 18. shew me thy faith by thy works, for the tree is knowne by it's fruit. Know ye therfore, *O ye careless generation*, you scandalizers of religion, you enemies of grace, that faith is operative, working by love; it is not if thou believest well, but if thou doest well, that shall render thee accepted before God: for what is the body without the soule, but a dead carcase? such is thy faith without works, according to Saint *James*; as the body without the spirit is dead, so faith without works is dead also, therefore for all your boastings, I may say of you, as the Angell said of the Church in *Sardis*, that you have a name that you live, but indeed you are dead.

Sofidians condemned.

Rom. 2. 18. Matth. 7. 23.

James 2. 26. Revel. 3. 1.

Againe, if thou do well. This pusleth sore at all our idle talkers of religion, whither they be those of the clergy, that preach the will of God, but doe it not, (like *Noahs* carpenters building houses for other men, & perishing themselves,) or whither they be the communi-tatlers of the times, that goe from house to house, prating of religion a great deale more then their share, whose works if you look in, you will take them for Atheists, rather then for Christians: these instead of making godlinesse a great gaine, according to the Apostle, make a great gaine of godlinesse: the first of these (if they bee Christs true disciples) are taught by their masters example, first to doe, and then to teach *Act.* 1. 1 and the latter may be admonished by his sharp rebuke.

Idle talkers of religion branded.

2 Timothy 3. 6.

1 Timothy 6. 6. 1 Timothy 4. 8. Acts 1.

Matth. 12. 34. O generation of vipers, how can ye being evil, speak good things? how is it that I heare *Iacobs* voice, but feele *Esaus* hands?

Matth. 12. 34. Genesis 27. 22. Vaine beasts conv nced.

Once more, *if thou do well, shalt not thou be accepted?* what have most of our forward hearers to do with this? who of men and women are become monsters, having all eares but no hands, as if religion were to

go no further with them, then *aurium tenus*, up to the eares: But what saith Saint *James* (if Apostles may be credited in these dayes) *Be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only deceiving your own soules*: where he doth not condemne hearing, no more do I: but I would have doing besides, and so would he.

Iames 1. 22.

But as we may aske, and goe without, because we aske amisse, so wee may doe, and not be accepted, because we do amisse; therefore my next suit to you is, that you doe so, that you may be accepted, that is well, if thou doe well, saith God: for hee that doth well is of God, saith Saint *Iohn* in his epistle to his beloved *Gaius*, *verse* 11.

1. well.
Iames 4 3.

Iohn 11.

The Lord here intimates unto *Cain*, that his owne evill doing, and not Gods evill judging, is the cause of his rejection: for howsoever he seem'd to walk in equipage with his brother, and to offer as devout a sacrifice as hee, yet was there something amisse in it, which God (the searcher of the hearts) did see, and therefore did reject him. It was *bonâ specie*, but *malum intentione*, good in apparition, but bad in intention; and God is wont to love adverbs better then adjectives; *non refert quam bonum sed quam bene*; he regards not how good the worke bee, when it is done; but how well it is performed while it is a doing. Therefore that a worke may be done well, there are three things required, first, τὸ πρεπὲς conformity to the law of God, which is the rule of righteousnesse, to which every good work, both for matter and manner must accord: ἁμαρτία and ἀνομία sinne and deflection from Gods law, are termes convertible, so that whatsoever is sinne, erreth from the law, and whatsoever strayeth from the law is sin, therefore that a work may be well done, it is required that it do accord with the Law.

Three things required to the doing of a worke well.

1.

Bucan. com. loc. de bonis operibus. page 331.

1 Iohn 3. 4.

2. Secondly, *fides*, faith in the doer, by which his person may please God in Christ, and the word be accepted for the persons sake: for it is otherwise betweene God and man, then it is betweene man and man; with us the person is accepted for his gifts, be he black as *Vulcan*, or deformed as *Thersites*.

Ditia si attuleris munera gratus eris.

Bring a good present in thy hand, and welcome; but it is not so with God, but cleane contrary; for he accepts of the gift for the giver, and reckons the worke good, because a good man doeth it: hee first makes the tree good, and then its fruit; as St. *Gregory* very clearly, *Deus gratum non habet offerentem propter munus, sed munus propter offerentem*; thus verse 4. it is said unto *Abel*, and to his offering God gave respect: first unto *Abel*, then unto his offering, first loving the man in

Gregor. Gen. 4 5.

Christ

Christ, and then regarding the worke for the man. This excellent comfort faith brings with it, that when it hath joyned us to Christ, all our deeds are well thought of, but where faith is not, there can nothing be accepted, for whatsoever is not of faith is sinne. *Laudo fructum boni operis sed in fide agnosco radicem*, saith St. *Augustin*, I commend the fruit of a good work, but I account faith to be the roote from whence that goodnesse springs. Rom 14.23. St. Aug. in Psal. 31.

Faith, saith Saint *Bernard*, is the vine, vertues the branches, good works the cluster of grapes, devotion the wine; to conclude, *nec palmes sine vite, nec virtus sine fide*; the branch cannot subsist without the vine to beare it, nor a vertuous action without faith to breed it. St. Bernard super Cant. ser. 30.

Finally there is required, *Respectus ad Deum*; a good intention and respect to God: for the Pharisee may give almes to the poore, and *Cain* may offer sacrifice to the Lord, and yet both justly rejected, if they propound wrong ends unto their actions, seeking rather to magnifie themselves, then to glorifie God: This is that, that Saint *Augustine* tells the *Pelagians*, *non artibus sed finibus pensantur officia*: good works are not to be poysed by the art in the well contriving of them, but by the ends for which they were contrived: so *Bucanus*, *non tam artibus quam finibus virtus a vitiis sunt discernenda*. 3. St. Aug. cont. Iul. Pelag. lib. 4. Bucanus de bonis operibus, page 332.

It is not the action, but the end of the action that must distinguish vice from vertue. So then whilest *Cain* sacrificed to the true God an offering for substance and matter allowable, yet wanting faith in Christ to give the action a good beginning, and respect to God to direct it to a right end, he did not well and consequently he and his offering justly were rejected.

Away then with hereticall Pelagianisme, that calls heathen vertues, good works, that thinks *Aristides* shall be saved for his justice, *Xenocrates* for his temperance, *Fabricius* for his abstinence, *Socrates* for his patience, and so *Cain* for his sacrifice. And heark how in exclamation they cry out against us. How is it possible, *ut erunt in damnatione sempiterna, in quibus erat vera justitia?* that they should be in eternal condemnation, whose works did seem to merit eternal cōmendation? But we reply with Saint *Augustine*, *quis hæc sapiat, nisi desipiat*, who will think that such works be good, but hee that hath not the wit to think as he should, or he that with *Epicurus* accounts vertues, but *voluptatis ancillas*, servants to attend upon vaine pleasure. Heathen works condemned. Iulian. Pelag. apud Aug. contra Iul. lib. 4.

Hear Saint *Bernard* to *Cain*, *Bene honoras deum munere fœtido? bene placas fidei interfector?* doest thou think to honour God well with a stinking Bernard super Cap. ser. 24.

stinking oblation, that wants the salt of true faith to season it? And such & no better are all heathen works.

All heathens not damned. Psalme 145.17. Psalme 11.7. Matthew 25.26.

Yet will not my charity suffer me to give all heathens for damned: for I know that God is righteous in all his wayes, & that he loveth righteousnes; I have heard it also said, that he reapeth not where he hath not sowen & gathereth not where he hath not strawed; but requireth

Genesis 18.25

of very man according to the talent which he hath given him, more where he hath given more, lesse where he hath given lesse, therfore if any of them shall make the best use of their talent, & improve it (according to their power) to the best advantage, why may not I think that

Isaiah 42.3.

God (who hath promised that he will not break a bruised reed nor quench a smoking flaxe) will multiply & increase their guifts, according to his promise, *Habenti dabitur*, to him that hath it shall be given

Matthew 25.29.

& he shal have abundance: & may infuse into them so much knowledg of the Deity in generall, & of Christ the second person in particular as may save their soules?

Meritorious workes condemned. Rhemist. annot. in Acts 22.16.

Away also with Semipelagian Papisin, that calls unregenerate actions meritorious deeds; that imagines goodnesse is shewed, & grace purchased *Ex opere operato*; A term more monstrous in the sence, then barbarous in the words for what Papist of them all can for outward respects doe a better work then *Cain*? who yet neither shewed vertue to God nor merited reward unto himself.

Pittifull to think how many famous & worthy works they have fooled in their People by their false doctrine; either erecting them upon false grounds, or directing them vnto false ends.

Bed. Histor. Gent Ang.

For when I read (in *Bede* and others) of so many Churches built, hospitalls edified, monasteries erected schooles founded, Colledges endowed, &c. I cannot sufficiently admire our ancestours devotion: but when I go further and finde that these works were done, *in remedium animæ suæ & in remissionē peccatorum suorum, in honorem divæ virginis ad promerendum Deum, &c.* for their soules health, for remission of their sins in honour of our Lady, and to merit heaven, I cannot but lament their teachers ignorance, and do often wish that they had some of our science, we more of their conscience, they our knowledge, we their devotion.

Hypocrites and prophane persons condemned. Bonavent.

Finally, away with each hypocrite and prophane person: The hypocrite *vult bonus esse interdiu*, he desires to be good without doors, outwardly acting some laudable deed, inwardly respecting some detestable end: and the prophane person would have saine have well at death, but he is not willing to doe well in life, he is angry at his punishment,

nishment, but delighteth in his sinne. Let both these learne of *Iohn* the *Baptist*, of whom our Saviour saith, that he was *Lucerna ardens et lucens*, a burning and a shining light. Wicked men doe but one of these. The hypocrite will not care much to glister (like a glow-worme) with the false fire of holinesse, he is content to shine, but he will not burne with the true zeale of piety and the prophane person will not grudge to burne with *Balaam*, with the love of heaven, *ô that he may dye the death of the righteous!* Yes by all meanes, but he will not shine: with the light of vertue in his life, that men seeing his good workes may glorifie God: *ut lucere parum, ardere vanum, lucere et ardere perfectum*; to shine only is in vaine without profit, to burne only is in vaine, to no purpose, but to shine and to burne too is perfect.

John 5.35.

Numbers 23. 10

Bern. de ser. de Ioh. Baptist.

Would we then be perfect? let us burne with the true love of God, sacrificing to him what *Cain* kept to himselfe, that is, our hearts, he will coole us, *cum potabit è torrente voluptatis*: when hee shall drench us in the river of his pleasure, let us also shine with the light of grace, so will God adde more lustre to us, by making us shine in the light of glory.

Psal. 36. 8.

And so much shall suffice to have spoken of the worke, *Doe*, with the manner of performing it, *well*: wee come now to the person, upon whom it was urged, *Cain*, shadowed under the pronoune, *thou*: *If thou dowel*. Thou that hast offered me sacrifice with an hypocritical and deceitfull heart; thou that hast conceived against me unjust anger in thy breast, thou that repinest at thy brothers integrity, thou that harbourest in thy heart a bloudy resolution to slay the innocent without a cause, and he thy brother, there being but one man more in the world; and he thy father, thou that art guilty of al this wickednes, yet, *if thou dowel, shalt thou not be accepted?* A like place to this wee have in the 19th of Saint *Lukes* Gospell; where our Saviour Christ comming neere the City of *Ierusalem*, weeping over it, said, *If thou hadst knowne, even thou at least in this thy day the things which belong unto thy peace*: thou that hast alwayes beene a stiffenecked and rebellious people; thou that killest my Prophets, and stonest them that are sent unto thee; thou that hast drawne iniquity with cords of vanity, and sinne as it were with a cart-rope, yet, *if thou hadst known, even thou.*

3. Thou. Grace offered unto all men.

Luke 19.42.

Act. 7.51.

Matthew 23. 37.

Isai. 5.18.

How free is the Lord in the dispensation of his grace! there is no man so abominably wicked, to whom he doth not proffer it: if hypocriticall, envious, bloodthirsty *Cain* will at last doe well, hee shall be accepted: herein God shewes himselfe to bee a God of mercy and compassion, not desiring the death of a sinner, but rather that he turne from

Ezek.18.23.32. his wickednesse and live. Witnesse those passionate wishes that wee heare in scripture comming from him, *oh that there were such a heart in them to feare me, that it might go wel with them!* Deut.5.29. Witnesse his mournefull expostulations, as *Esaiah* 5.3. judge I pray you betweene me and my vineyard, what could I have done more for my vineyard? and turne yee, turne yee, why will you dye, oh house of Israel? *Ezek.* 33. 11. witnesse his melting commiserations of the lamentable condition of foolish men that will not bee reclaimed. Oh *Jerusalem, Jerusalem!* how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and you would not? *Matthew* 23.37. But now that men will not apprehend the doctrine of salvation, nor accept of grace thus freely offered them, but will goe to hell after all this, *debemus nos illorum vitio, non Christi gratiæ adscribere*, wee ought to lay the blame upon them; and not upon the grace of Christ. The raine falls upon the stony rocks, as wel as upon the fruitfull soyle, but doth it produce the same effect from both? No: for the soyle is made fruitfull, but the rocks remaine hard and barren as before, is the fault then in the raine? no: but in the rockes, which because of their flintie hardnesse will not bee mollified and made fruitfull. God in like manner raineth downe the showres of his ordinances upon the wicked as well as upon the righteous, the meanes of salvation are held out to all, if thou, or thou, or any thou in the world, *will doe well, thou shalt be accepted.* But the same effect is not produced from all, for some doe lay hold upon grace thus freely offered, others againe stand out, rebell and will not yeeld. The believer and unbeliever are like waxe and clay before the fire, the same heat which mollifies the one, hardens the other.

Matthew 23.37.

Isaiah 55.10.

Isaiah 27.3.

Ier.5.2.

Ezek.18.25. Let not men therefore cavill at Christs intention and Gods election, but let them looke into their owne hearts, and they will tell them that they are rebels, and live in prophane and wicked courses, in neglect of all holy duties, they carry their owne sentence, and cause of their damnation in their owne breasts. As for Gods secret purpose in electing some and rejecting others, it is hid from the world, and therefore that cannot bee the rule of our obedience; but look to Gods revealed will, looke to what is commanded thee in his word, and if thy conscience tell thee that thou hast not accepted of grace being offered thee, nor yeelded that obedience unto God that thou ought'st and might'st, hereupon comes thy condemnation to be just and right.

2. The second pro-

And so I passe from the worke supposed, *If thou doe wel*; to the reward.

ward promised, *Shalt thou not be accepted?* the interrogative put for the affirmative. It is well observed by *Parens* upon the place, that the word here translated, *accepted*, which is נשא *a verbo* שוא among other things, signifies to lift up; and so is also turned by some actively, *erit tibi eleuare*, if thou doe well, thou needst not goe hanging downe thy head like a condemned man, but thou maiest bee able to lift up thy countenance in sincerity of conscience as well as thy brother. Of some againe passively, *erit tibi. l. var.* if thou doe well, thou shalt be promoted and advanced with the blessings of earth in this life, and with the crowne of blessednesse when this life is ended. If you joyne them both together, you shall finde that well-doing hath a double acceptance: the gratulation of conscience within our selves, and the gratuity of blessednesse from almighty God.

Parens in loc.

Well-doing hath a double acceptance.

Concerning the first; comfort of conscience is no small reward unto a righteous man, many men reckon it enough, and solely rest therein. *Virtus in seipsâ mercedem habet*; a good work carries her reward with her, even the testimony and congratulation of a good conscience: which is a precious jewell, a hidden treasure, our heaven upon earth, our cheifest glory untill we come to the Kingdome of glory, according to Saint *Paul*: this is our glory even the testimony of our conscience. *Inestimabile bonum est testimonium bonæ & insontis conscientiæ*, the testimony of a good conscience is an inestimable good thing, without which no man can be truely merry, and with which no man certainely sad: for what can cast a man downe, if conscience be upright? or what can raise a man up, if conscience once deject him? what made *Belshazar* fall into his melancholy dumps in the midst of his cups and boone companions? why, nothing but an evill conscience is a continual fiend to haunt him? and what made Saint *Paul* sing Psalmes at midnight in prison, but a good conscience, a continual feast to cheere him? Finally, I demand with a Father, what thou accountest in this life pleasant and comfortable? *Mensæ deliciosæ?* a table furnished with continual delicates? *Diues* had this, and yet was turned into hell. *Bona valetudo corporis?* Is it strength and soundnesse of body? *Goliah* had this, and yet knockt downe with a pebble stone. *Ingens gloria?* Great magnificence and glory? *Herod* had this, and yet was eaten up of lice. *Diuitiarum copia?* abundance of wealth and riches? The glutton had this, and foolishly lost his soule. What then? he concludes, *nihil aliud jucundum est, quam conscientia probata, et res futurorum certa*: nothing, nothing truely comfortable in this world, but a good conscience within

2.
The comfort of a good conscience.

2 Cor. 1. 12.

Muscul. Est thalus religionis, templum Salomonis, ager benedictionis, hortus deliciarum, aureum reclinatorium, gaudium Angelorum, area fœderis, thesaurus Regis, mala Dei, habitaculum Spiritus Sancti. Hug. lib. 3. de ant. cap. 11.

Dan. 5. 6. Act. 16. 25. Prov. 15. 15. Luke 16. 23. 1 Sam. 17. 50. Act. 12. 23.

Luke 12. 20.

our selves, and a strong confidence in the *God* of heaven. *Had* [illegible] at the time of his oblation, but knowne the benefit of a good conscience, which was in *Abel* before he suffered his martyrdome, and the wounds of an evil conscience, which were fallen upon himselfe after he had committed his murder, he would have laboured more earnestly to doe well in action, that hee might more joyfully have sped well in acceptation.

Ber. in lib. de conscient. And such would be the desire of all men, were conscience valued at his true dignity and worth, excellently Saint *Bernard*, *unicuique est liber propria conscientia, & ad hunc librum discutiendum & emendandum omnes alij inventi sunt*; every mans conscience is a booke, and to cleare and refine this book, all other books are invented and found out. All our reading to our selves, all our preaching to you, all your and our hearing is joyntly for one end, *ne dissideat unusquisque a seipso*: that no man should be at oddes with his owne soule. The benefit and comfort whereof were it sufficiently knowne to many men, and earnestly loved of all men, the shop-keeper would not by making short measure unto others, make himselfe fall short of heaven; the lawyer would not plead so long against the truth, till his own conscience pleaded against himself: the extortioner would not grinde the face of the poor, til *fœnus pecunia*, proves *funus animæ*, his monies birth, his soules death. The Bankrupt would not so often compound with his creditors, till the devill without compounding carries away his soule: finally the whoring drunkard, the roaring swaggerer, and the raving blasphemer, would not dance themselves in jollity into hell as they doe; if they were but perswaded that a good conscience were but worth halfe so much as it is.

Id.

Micah 6. 10, 11.

Luke 12. 46.
Isaiah 3. 15.
Lev.

2. Good workes rewarded. Againe besides gratulation of conscience, well-doing getts acceptation from God, and so it purchaseth reward without, as well as partaketh of comfort within. Indeed it hath ever been the devils pollicy to make men believe it is in vaine to serve God: in *Iob*. 21. 15. the wicked will needs make it a question, what profit they should have, if they should serve God?

Iob. 21. 15.

A base demand, seeing as one observes, every good man knows, *etiam submotâ mercedem, virtutē ipsā coronā, ac ornamentum esse*; that vertue carrieth her reward in her bosome, and cannot want the comfort that is due unto her; she is both the work and the reward herselfe: yea, and that in this present life. Gods children want not comforts, le blessings, which are (as it were) the first fruits of their full inheritance: God being gracious unto them, *dum per res parvas, et in aspectum cadentes*

Psalme 37. 25.

majoribus

majoribus invisibilibusque fidem astruit: whilest by outward things he strengthens their faith for greater and more glorious matters. And they content themselves with his good pleasure, and depend upon him without distrust saying one to another with Saint *Paul Rom.* 8. 32 *He that loved not his owne Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shal he not with him also freely give us all things?* and to their owne soules with *Origen, quid de operibus dubitas, qui herum habes?* what doest thou doubt of the inheritance, when thou hast the heire himselfe bestowed upon thee?

Romanes 8. 32.

Origen. in Rom. 8.

Yet herein they are discreet too, for they have learned with *Pelusiota*, that combatings appertaine to this world, comfortings to the other world, here crosses, there crownes. Such is Gods wisedome that generally he hath proportioned the worke for earth, the wages for heaven: and yet such is his goodnesse too, that here also many goe not unrewarded. For saith *Augustine*, if God should reward no good man in this life it would be thought, these temporall lessings did either belong to God for to give, or to good men to receive: and againe, if he should reward every good servant with these outward things, they would be thought the onely good, and men would serve him for earthly commodities: and so, *non pios nos faceret talis servitus, sed cupidos et avaros*, the practise of religion would not make us truely pious, but wickedly covetous, and every man in the world would turne servant unto God, that God might make the world serve every mans turne.

Isidor. Pelus. lib. 1. epist. 4.

St. Aug. de civit. Dei lib 2. cap. 8.

S. Aug. ut supra.

Wherefore he takes an excellent course, rewarding some onely in Heaven, some both in heaven and in earth, but every man sufficiently, *& ultra condignum*, beyond all defect. His blessings are infinite, some of his children have all of them, but all of his children have some of them, as maketh most for the glory of his name, and the glorification of their soules.

Why then doe we lose by idlenesse, what we might gaine by godlinesse? marke what counsell *Eliphaz* gives to *Iob* chap. 22. 21. *acquaint thy selfe with God, and be at peace, thereby good shal come unto thee.* Good to thy soule, verse 26. *Thou shalt have thy delight in the Almighty, and shalt lift up thy face to God.* Good to thy body, verse 29 *When other men are cast downe, thou shalt say, I am lift up.* Good to thy estate, verse 24: *Thou shalt lay up gold as the dust, and the gold of Ophyr, as the stones.* Let no man be discouraged, for verily there is a reward for the righteous, doubtlesse there is a God that judgeth the earth.

Iob 22. 21.

verse 26.

verse 29.

verse 24.

Psalme 58. 10.

O then let us all be doing out of hand: art thou a rich man? then bee

 doing

S. August. doing, *eroga pecuniam, & accipe cælum*: give thy money to the poore, and thou shalt finde treasure in heaven. Art thou a magistrate? then be doing, *exerce justitiam, ut obtineas misericordiam*, doe justice to all men, that thou maiest finde mercy to thy selfe. Art thou a minister? then be doing, *sparge sermonem, ut metas vitam*: Sow the seed of the word, that thou maiest reap the harvest of life. And to conclude, who ever we be, let us imitate *Abraham*, who willingly forsook his earthly country for a City, whose builder and maker is God. *Heb.* 11. 10.

Luke 18, 22.

Heb. 11. 16.

Let us imitate *Moses*, who left the Court of *Egypt*, for the Court of Heaven: *Heb.* 11. 26. Let us imitate Christ, who for the glory that was set before him, endured the crosse, and despise the shame. *Heb.* 12. 2. And so I end this point with Saint *Paul*: 1. *Cor.* 15. 58. Therefore my deare brethren, be yee stedfast, unmoveable, alwayes abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as you know that your labour shall not be in vaine in the Lord. *If thou doe well, shalt not thou be accepted?*

Hebrewes 11. 26.
Hebrewes 12. 2.

1 Cor. 15. 58.

2.

How good workes make us to become accepted.

And so you have the work and the reward severally, now take them both together, and see how our doing well makes us to become accepted, which I will unfold in a word: good works doe wonderfully please almighty God, and are rewarded by him with the choicest blessings of this life, and with the crowne of blessednesse when this life is ended; *non quia ita merentur, sed quia divina benignitas hoc illis ex ipsa gratiæ statuit*: as *Calvin*, not because they deserve these rewards, but because the goodnesse of God hath of it selfe appointed these rewards unto them. As for the word merit, it is irkesome in the eares of every humble minded man.

Cal. Inst. lib. 3. cap. 15. sect. 3.

Merit condemned.

For if we be not able to think a good thought as of our selves (as the Apostle avoucheth) then how can we doe good deeds, and merit by them? And for the workes that we doe performe (alas) they cannot merit, because, though they be good in their owne nature, yet they faile in some necessary circumstance that is required, as when wee doe them not after that manner, or with that minde, or to that end, that the law requireth.

2 Cor. 3. 5.
Genesis 6. 5.

But say we could doe, *bonum bene*, good works well, yet how few are they in number in respect of our evill workes? and can wee hope that some few good workes can make satisfaction for so many evill workes that we have done, and compensation for so many good workes that we have left undone?

Besides what congruity is there betweene grace and merit, that workes should merit through grace? *gratia non est ulla modo, si non sit gratuita*

gratuita omni modo, saith Saint *Augustine*, it is not grace any way, if it be not gratis every way: so the Apostle reasoneth, *Rom.* 11. 6. if it bee by grace, then it is no more of workes, otherwise grace is no more grace; but if it be of workes, then it is no more of grace, otherwise worke is no more worke. But why should wee not as well dread the punishments we have deserved by our evill deeds, as well as looke for a reward for our good deeds? especially considering that our perfection is but imperfection, and that when wee have done all that we can, wee are but unprofitable servants; and the reward which God out of his free grace is willing to bestow upon us, is so great, as the eye hath not seen, nor the eare heard, neither hath it entred into the heart of man to conceive; and who knowes not the analogy of merit and reward, that the one must not exceed the other?

St. Aug. ep. 106. ad Bon.

Romanes 11. 16.

Cum deus coronat merita nostra nihil aliud coronat quã dona sua. S. Aug. epist. 105. ad Sextum prob

Luke 17. 10.

1 Cor. 2. 9.

Romanes 8. 18. 2 Cor. 4. 17.

But yet as I would not have you Nullifidians, boasting of your workes without true faith, so neither would I have you Solifidians or carnall gospellers, making brags of your faith, having no works to shew for it: for though we cannot be saved by them, as the meritorious cause, yet can wee not bee saved without them, they being the necessary effects of our faith. Would we then all be saved? let us all to work, and that betimes too, for, *pœnitentia sera raro vera*: late repentance will be repented oft: and having once well begun, let us with *Abraham* continue our sacrifice of well doing to the evening of our dayes, that so having been faith to the death, we may receive the crowne of life: for it is not if thou wilt doe well hereafter, nor if thou hast done well heretofore, but if thou doe well, if thou hast begun to doe well already, and if thou resolvest to doe wel to the end.

Phil. 2. 5? Whereby we are justified, and shall be saved.

Reve. 2. 9

If thou doe well, shalt thou not be accepted? That's the first argument. The second followes, which is *argumentum ab inutili*, an argument drawne from the unprofitablenesse of the contrary doing not well. *And if thou doest not well, sinne lieth at the doore.* That is, thy not doing well attaints thee with sinne, and thy guilt of sin attaches thee with punishment.

2 Argument.

Herein two things likewise are considerable, a supposition and a position: the supposition, *if thou doest not well*: the position, *sinne lieth at the doore*.

Two things considerable.

Concerning the first, God intimates unto *Cain*, (as *Pareus* notes upon the place) that *inter justitiam & peccatum non datur medium*, betweene righteousnesse and sinne there is no middle thing, but whatsoever is well done, is righteous, and whatsoever is not well done, is unrighteous,

1. Pareus ad. loc.

righteous. there is no indifferency at all betweene them. *He that is not with me, is against me,* (saith Christ) *and he that gathereth not together, scattereth abroad:* There be two maine opposites, God and the devill: two contrary places of reward, heaven and hell: two wayes to come thither, the broad way and the narrow way; two distinctions of mens actions, good and bad: and as Saint *Jerome* said of the broad and narrow way: *Omne quod loquimur, omne quod agimus, aut de latâ, aut de angustâ viâ est:* all that we say, and all that we do, lookes upon one or t'other: so it is true of the quality of mens actions, they all savour of God or of the devill, they all tend either to heaven or hell, and are all for merit and worth to be reputed well done, or ill done.

Matth. 12. 30.

St. Hierom.

Bellarmines mincing of sinnes, to be *Non contra legem*, but *Præter legem*, cannot prove either that that which is not well done, should bee accounted a good action, or that that which is an evill action, should deserve no punishment. Take wee heed then by all meanes of linsey-wolsey actions, of workes part good part bad, of obedience by halfes; for God is a jealous God, he will have all the action for himselfe and all the affection to himselfe: he reckons every thing bad, that errs in substance, and he accounts nothing good, that failes in circumstance; onely his goodnesse will pardon the infirmity of our flesh, if our wills endeavour conformity to his spirit. Again, by this saying, *If thou doe Well*; God gives us some insight into sinne, and the nature of it: It is not a thing positive, but privative, not the substance of any thing present, but the privation of a duty absent: *Cain* did ill, because he did not well. *Nequitia* is *ne quicquam*, saith Saint *Augustine*, and naught and nought are both one. Adultery the privation of chastity, drunkennesse the absence of sobriety, covetousnesse the nothing of liberality; all evill the want of good. Had *Cain* come with an honest heart, and an upright hand, he had done well; these were absent, he did ill, so his sacrifice was nought, his obedience nought.

St. Augustine de Beat. Tom.

Beware therefore my beloved, of all things beware of sinne: there is no undoing of our selves, to the not doing of our duties: if we do well, we are sure to be somewhat, but sinne brings us from all things to nothing, and undoes us in punishment, who left vertue undone in practice: *Manifestum est, quia peccatum nihil est, et nihil fiunt homines cum peccant.* It is cleare, saith he again, sinne is a nothing, and such as commit sinne, bring themselves to nothing, they that make nothing of sin, sinne shall make nothing of them. Wherefore I beseech you, as we desire a being, let us take heed of being sinners, there is no well being but

Et vincit essentia nihilum. Serm. de vera relig. cap. 12. Idem Ioh. Tract.

with

with God; nor no well-doing but in the will of God: God is *Eventium*, the best being himselfe, and to bee like God, is the best being for man: doe well then, and be all this, but doe not well, and thou art undone for ever. For, *if thou doest not well, sinne lieth at the doore*: that's the Position, following the Supposition, *Peccatum pra foribus, sinne lieth at the doore.* 2.

I finde it three wayes expounded, first, saith *Lyra, non erit occultum, sed mox patebit scelus tuum*; if thou do not well, thy wickednesse is presently found out by God, it can no more be hid from his eyes, then that which is throwne out of doors, can be concealed from the eyes of men. And herein is *Cain* stung to the heart, for he might suppose, that all his livour and ill meaning to his brother; all his choller and ill minde towards God, might bee palliated with some other outward worke of religion, with another *opus operatum*, a second sacrifice or so: but God detects him in his lewd thoughts, and tells him there is no starting from him. He that found out the idolatry of a stone wall, *Ezek.* 8.9. can finde out also the conspiracy of a stony heart, whatsoever hath bin spoken in darknesse shall be heard in the light, and whatsoever hath beene whispered in the eare in secret, shall be preached upon the house toppe openly; not a deed, not a word, not a thought that shall escape the all-seeing eye of God. For he that calleth the stars by their names, he that telleth all our steps; hee that counteth the sparrowes, and reckons the haires upon our heads, hee that putteth all our teares into his bottle, hee that knoweth the cattel upon 1000. hills, he that writeth all our members in a booke, long before we were borne, nothing can be done so secretly, but he will bring it to light, for he is like the Sun, whose going forth is from the end of the heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it, and there is nothing hid from the heat thereof.

1. Lyra ad loc.

Ezek. 8.9.

Psalme 147. 4.
Iob 14.16.
Matth. 10. 29. 30.
Psalme 56. 8.
Psalme 50. 10.
Psalme 130. 16.

Psalme 19. 6.

How true this is, *Nonnullos docuere non verba, sed verbera*, it is Saint *Bernards* phrase in another case, some men have learned, not from the ministers word, but from the magistrates sword: what strange conspiracies have beene hatched against our State and Kingdome *Leven subter viscera terra*, as low as hell it selfe, and yet have flowne out of doors, and lye like the Levites wife, dead upon the threshold, brought to their end, before their end; and seene of all men before they were felt of any. Thus the sinner meets with *Jeremiahs* sawes, *Ier.* 2.19. Thine owne wickednesse shalt correct thee, and his conscience for ever after checks him as *Moses* doth the *Rubenites*, *Numbers* 32. be sure that your sin will finde you out. For if thou poest not well, *Peccatum pra foribus, Sin Beth*, &c.

Saint Bernard.

Iud. 19. 27.

Ier. 2. 19.

Numbers 32, 33.

Second-

Secondly, *Peccatum pro foribus, Sinne lyeth at the doore*, that is, it sits in the Conscience, and there judgeth and condemneth the malefactour: for this is the property of sinne, *Conuertere illuc quod quærit*, to beat upon the heart of him that hatcheth it; as it did to *David*, whose heart smote him, after he had numbred the people. When the sinner heares iniquity reproved, his Conscience is ready to tell him, *Thou'rt now*, when he heares judgement denounced, his Conscience makes him with *Felix* to tremble. *Obstupuit Felix amisso nomine*, saith *Arator*: *Felix* lost his felicitie when he lost his innocencie, hee grew contrary to his name, when his Conscience was different in it selfe. Sinne hath many vengeances, but

2 Sam. 24,10
2 Sam. 12,7.
Acts 24,25.
Arator.

Iuven. Sat.

——— *Primus est hic vltor quem sibi*
Iudice, nemo nocens absoluitur.

This is the first, that no man escapes the darts of an angry Conscience: Yet, *Beguis dæmon ñ ouvéλθοιτε Θεόν*, saith *Menander*. Conscience is a God, and keepes his *Domesticum Tribunal*, within us, and impossible it is to escape his censure, since the Plaintiffe, the Judge, the witnesse, the prison, the punishment, the Executioner is all one.

Menander.

Gerard. Med.

This is that *ἄδυτον ἀκάθικτον* as Saint *Chrysostome* calls it, that incorrupted Judge, *qui nec flectly potest precibus nec corrumpi munere*, as *Gerhard*, who will neither bee wonne by intreaties, nor corrupted with gifts: This is that *Iasopuits, sepultura*, a Graue ever open, but that stumbleth at it, doth irrecoverably fall into it; *Quid prodest non habere Conscium sibi mali Conscientiam?* No boote to bee secret from the view of men, so long as conscience is priue to it selfe; like a Sergeant, or Catchpole, it lies at our doores, and never parts with the sinner, till he parts with his sin.

S. Chrysostome Gerard. Med.

Lactant. in Instit. 6, 24.

But most of all, *Peccatum pro foribus*, wee shall finde *Sinne at the doore*, when wee are going out at the doore, at the time of death, or going out of the world: For God herein alludes to the nature of some Mastiffe or wilde beast, lying at the doore of a mans house, who as soone as ever a mans foote is over the threshold to goe forth, it flies in his face to pluck out his throat. So Conscience in wicked men like a bandogge, barkes at them all the while they are in the house of this life, but when at death they goe out of the Clay houses of their bodies, then it furiously flies upon them, teares out the throat of their soules, and makes a full end of them.

Thirdly and lastly, *Peccatum pro foribus, Sinne lyeth at the doore*, that is, hasty punishment is at the doore, hard at hand; ready to over-

take

take him that sinneth: Sinne and his punishment (except they be severed by sound Repentance) goe still together; *Cognatus inest ultor ei qui commisit scelus scelerisque supplicium*; Sinnes punishment is homebred nay inbred with it: As in the cleere Sunne-shine, the darke shadow followeth the body, so in the sweete pleasure of evill, sad punishment accompanieth sinne; if thou commit the one, God will not omit the other; If thou doe the one, thou shalt suffer the other. Therefore the Chaldee paraphraft turnes it thus, *Si non bene operis, peccatum tuum in diem judicij servatum erit*: If thou doest not well, thy sinne is reserved till the day of judgement; thou mayest shut it out at the doore of thy minde, but it will sit at the doore of Gods memory, to procure just vengeance on thee. As the Poet said of perjury, I may say of all other sins, It may tarry long. Chal. Baf.

Sera tamen tacitis pana venit pedibus. Perf. Val. Max.

Slow footing it makes, but sure footing it takes; and then as *Val: Maximus* saith, *Turbitatem supplicij gravitate compensat*, it will make amends for the long time of delay, with the heavinesse of the punishment when it commeth: for though God hath leaden feete, hee hath Iron hands, though hee commeth very slowly, yet he payeth surely.

And thus it was with *Cain*, Hee lived long after this, he built Cities, married Wives, begate Children, invented Arts, as if nothing did trouble him, but all this while, he had with in him a feared Conscience, a trembling heart, a guilty looke, sinne lay at the doore, and at last threw him out of house and home, and so the end of sins pleasure, was the beginning of hell-torments: Consider this all yee that forget God, least he teare you in peeces, while there be none to helpe. Sinne is a bad Tenant, it casts out the Land-lord: If you please your selves in sin, God will displeade you in punishment, His judgements are ever just, and vengeance will come, when it is due. Psalme 50,22.

Serious consideration herein may doe much good, whilest wee consider that divine punishment argues humane transgression: Wee may safely conclude from a punishment to an offence, *Posito uno, ponitur et alterum*: Who can enumerate your grosse enormities and crimes now raigning among us? How doth rebellion (which is as the sin of witchcraft) get a head, whilest Authoritie and Dominion is troden under-foot! How doth Schisme and Faction prevaile and increase, whilest order and decency is set at nought! How is Religion made 1 Samuel 15,23.

with many, the Maske of Villany! How is the Ministerie contemned, and our Message disgracefully accepted! How have the Holy Scriptures lost their due Authoritie, and cannot be beleeved by many of Us! But above all, How by our unhallowed lives, doe we treade under feete the precious bloud of JESUS CHRIST! When the Citie of *Otho* was burned, one yeelds this as a prefaging cause of it, that a little before a Priest at Masse, spilt a Chalice of Consecrated Wine, which that credulous age thought to have beene the very bloud of Christ: Our Kingdome hath not beene burned, nor (I trust) ever shall till that great day of fire, when the earth, and the Elements and the Heavens, and all shall burne; and yet how is the Bloud of Christ spilt upon the ground, and troden under foot by our prophane courses! But what though our Houses escape the fire, if our bodies doe not? No marvaile if some have *Ignem in ossibus*, the fire of loathsomnesse in their bones, when they have kindled *Ignem in Carne*, the fire of Lust in their flesh: No wonder that our bloud boyles with the heate of feavers and burning Agues, when the fervour of drunkennesse and distemperature hath blowne the Coales. No marvaile if all the plagues concomitating a civill Warre doe fall upon us, when our filthie lusts within us, which warre against the Soule are so predominant. *Quid mirum in generis humani crescere jam iram Dei cum crescat quotidie, quod puniatur?* What marvaile (saith Saint *Cyprian*) to see the judgements of God every day increase, when our sins which call for them do increase more than they? Our pride increaseth, our hypocrisie increaseth, our prophannes increaseth, our rebellion increaseth, our Atheisme increaseth. Is it a wonder then that the Pox should increase, that the Plague should increase, that our divisions should increase, that wars and rumours of wars should increase also! Be wise therefore (my Beloved) *and sin no more lest worse things befall Us*: take away the cause, if you would have the effect to cease, and remove sin from your doores, if you would have God withhold punishment from your soules.

1 Peter 2, 11; S. Cypr. ad Demet.

John 5, 14.

And so much for the second point.

The third remaines, which is *Argumentum ab aquo & bono*, a reason taken from right and equity, *unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him.* And here it did become mee to crave your patience a little longer, (the time being already past) did I not know the subject I have in hand commanded it, *For behold, my heart hath indicted a good matter, and I will speake of the things that I have made touching the KING.* And I would to God that none would touch him worse.

Psalme 45, 1. Psalme 105, 15.

Unto

Vnto thee shall bee his desire, and thou shalt rule over him.

WHich words are meant of *Abels* subjection to *Cain*, and of *Cains* supremacie over *Abel*. God that he might restraine *Cain* from a further evill, doth comfort him with this present good, that neither his owne wickednesse could deprive him of his dominion, nor his brothers righteousnesse free him from subjection; but *Abels* desire must be subject unto *Cain* as the Elder, and *Cain* by Authority rule over *Abel* as the younger. So that here two things are delivered.

One, That the First-borne hath the condicion of a superior: The other, That the younger hath the state of an Inferiour, and both must keepe their owne. 2 Things delivered.

Concerning the first, *Primo geniture*, even by the Law of Nature, and by the Law of God, hath a twofold priviledge, *Regni & Sacerdotij*; of outward rule and command as a King, of inward direction and guidance as a Priest. Thus *Iacob* intimates in *Reuben*, Gen. 49. *Reuben my first borne*, &c. *Thou hadst the excellencie of Dignitie, and the excellency of Power*: The excellency of Dignity, that is the order of Priest-hood in the Church; The excellency of Power, that is the state of Soveraignty in the Common-wealth. 1 *Primo genitura.* Genesis 49.3.

Now because every house is a little Citie, as every Citie is a great house, therefore the first borne was a petty King over his brethren, and as a Bishop or Priest to the whole family.

And for this cause God appointed the first-borne, *Duplicem hereditatem*, a double portion of inheritance, answerable (as it were) to his double dignity and preferment. *Cain* then being Elder then *Abel*, was his superiour by birth, and in this superiority was promised to continue, albeit by sin he might seeme to have lost it. Deut. 21, 17.

From this point much might bee observed, and I could bee large in it, but I neither desire to offend you, nor doe I delight to wearie my selfe: May it please you briefly to observe with mee these three points.

First that Superioritie of on man over another is the very ordinance and appointment of Almightie God; so that by him the greatest is set to rule, the lesser appointed to obey, even by him (I say) that made them both. for as neither the soule alone nor bodie alone can make a Three points. 1.

man; so neither the Soveraigne alone nor the subiects alone can make a Common-wealth; where all will rule there is no rule, and where none doth rule, there is all misrule. Therfore hath God ordained an order and chiefty in all things: The blessed Angels know their thrones and the Saints their seats. The Heavens have their Orbes, and one star differeth from another star in glorie. The Planets have their places, and the Elements theirs: look among the creatures, and you shall finde the Lion to have the preeminence among the beasts, the Eagle among the Fowles, the Whale among the Fishes, among the Serpents, the Basyliske; Ther's a Bell-weather in the flocke, ther's a Captaine among the Cranes; a Governour among the Pismires, a maister Bee in the Hive, and the Grasse-hoppers goe out in bands, and shall we admit of no Order among reasonable men? *Cujus jussu Homines nascuntur, hujus jussu Reges constituuntur*, It was Divinity in *Irenæus* his time. He that made men, made Kings, and to them he gave a superiority over o her men; *The powers that are*, saith Saint *Paul*, *are ordain'd of God*.

1 Cor. 15, 41. Prov. 19, 12. Proverbs 20, 2. Iob 39, 27. Irenæus. Romans 13, 1.

2. Again, observe from hence that sometimes a wicked man is appointed to rule, and a good man sit under to obey, here in *Cain* the King is wicked, in *Abel*, the Subject good. So it was in the Primitive Church, the Christians were good subjects, but *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Julian* bad Princes.

3. But observe in the third place, that it is not the wickednesse of the Prince, that can deprive him of his temporall jurisdiction, nor the goodnesse of the subject that can exempt him from his allegiance; Both are cleare in *Cain* and *Abel*, to whom is promised continuance of their states, each his owne place, after most unlike merits and deserts.

This *David* knew of *Saul*, a bloudy, Butcherly barbarous Prince that so eagerly hunted after his life to take it, yet he (not a private man, but one appointed and annointed by God to raigne in his stead), was so farre from hurting him, when God had delivered him into his hands in the Cave, that his heart smote him when hee had but cut off the skirt of his garment; and the reason he gives for it is because hee was the Lords Annointed.

1 Samuel 24, 11. 1 Samuel 24, 5. Verse 10.

What should I speake of *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Assyria*, who wasted all *Palestina* plundered Jerusalem, put out the eyes of the King, slew his Sons, burnt the Temple; tooke away the holy vessels, and defiled all places with rape ruine and bloud, and yet for all this his unmatched

Isaiah 12, 29. Ieremiah 39, 6, 7 2 Kings 24.

shed cruelty and impietie, the Prophets, *Jeremy* and *Daniel*, wrote to those Captive Jewes, whom he after his glut of butchery had led into *Chaldea*, to pray for the prosperity life of him, and his sonne *Belshazzar*, that their dayes might bee upon the Earth as the dayes of Heaven: and the Prophet *Ezechiel*, doth both blame and threaten *Zedekiah*, for his disloyalty in revolting from him (though a heathenish tyrant) whose homager and tributary he was. Jeremiah 29, 7. Dan. 9. 12. Ezekiel 17. 13. 16, 18.

What of Saint *Paul*, and Saint *Peter*, who lived, wrote their Epistles, and died Martyrs under the Raigne of bloudy, Heathenish, and Atheisticall persecutors? Yet saith one of them, *Let every soule bee subject to the Higher powers* (not every body, but every Soule, our subjection must not be forced, but be free and voluntary, commanded from the soule) And the other, *Submit your selves to every Ordinance of man for the Lords sake, to the King as supreame.* Romans 13. 1, 2. 1 Peter 2. 17.

I could abound both with examples and testimonies taken out of the Word of God, if those holy Writings were of any credit in these dayes. I am sure the Christians in the Primitive Church learned from them, that the Tyrannie, Atheisme, and prophanesse of their Princes, was not a sufficient cause for them to thrust them out of their Empire, yea (remembring Saint *Paul's* precept) even to resist, being offended; and therefore they spent their time (according to *Tertullian*) in praying for them, that God would give them, *quæ sibi hominum dominum petunt, longum imperium, tutam domum, fortes exercitus, fidelem senatum, probum populum, quietum orbem, cæteraque omnia quæ Cæsar optat.* A safe Empire, a long life, a quiet house, a valiant army: and this they did not out of feare, because they wanted strength, (away with that devilish glosse) but meerely out of Conscience because they knew their subjection to be Gods Ordinance: For the government is not mans but Gods, it is not Earthly, but Heavenly, and Kings are in a manner deified while they are in, on the earth: and that by Gods owne Voice too, *Dixi Diis vos, I have said ye are Gods*, (saith he) *and all of you are children of the most High.* Gods in Title, though not equall in power, God hath given them this Name, though not His Nature, and upon the Earth they serve in Gods stead, as may appear by that of the Queene of *Sheba*, to King *Solomon*: *Blessed be the Lord thy God, which delighted in thee, to set thee upon His Throne, that thou mayst be King, for the Lord thy God.* Their Kingdomes are given them by God, the most High ruleth in the Kingdome of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will, *Dan.* 4. Their Thrones are appointed them by God, *Regnet tuleat in solio*; hee placeth Kings upon the Throne, he doth establish them Tertul. Apolog. Bellarm. de pot. Pap. lib. 5. c. 7. Romans 13. 1. Psalme 82. 6. 1 Chron. 29. 23. Daniel 4, 32. Iob 36, 7.

them for ever, and they are exalted. *Iob* 36. *By God they sway their scepters, and doe iustice, by me Kings raigne, and Princes decree iustice. Pro.* 8.

Prov. 8. 15.
Psalme 21. 3. Their crownes are set upon their heads by God, *Thou settest a crowne of pure Gold upon his head. Psal.* 21. They are annointed by God, *I annointed thee King over Israel. 2. Sam.* 12. Their Kingdome is Gods, their throne is Gods, their scepter is Gods, their crowne is Gods, their annointing Gods, and their royall persons adorned with all these are so divine and sacred, that they themselves are the angels of God, and sons of the most high. And therefore hath God given a speciall charge concerning them, *Nolite tangere Christos meos, touch not mine annointed.* It is not, *ne tangite*, but *nolite tangere*: we must be so farre from doing it that we must not have so much as the least will or inclination to go about it. *Nolite tangere*, Yea, say he bee a tyrant for manners, and a heathen for religion, all is one, hee is *Christus domini*, the Lords Christ then whom none is greater then *Christus dominus*, the Lord Christ himselfe, he must not be touched. And as from God he receives his power, so for the good or bad administration thereof he is to be accomptable onely unto God, and not unto any mortall creature.

2 Samuel 14. 17.
Psalme 105. 15.

The Kings supremacy.

And for this cause were Kings annointed with oyle to signifie their supremacy, for the oyle will still be uppermost; and for this end (it may be) God would have the first king hee set over Israell, to be higher by the head and shoulders then all the people, for the head being the place of policy, the shoulders of strength and power, doe shew that no policy nor power should be above him. He may justly claime the commendation of *Iohn Baptist*, for surely among them that are borne of women there hath not risen a greater. And therefore Kings are called higher powers, the Heads of the tribes, the children of the most high, *Dii prin us, post Deum secundus*, reckon not God and the King is the first, but count God and Hee is the second. Nothing in all created nature is more great, more excellent; not the high-priest, for he is his servant.

1 Samuel 10. 23.
Matthew 11. 11.
Romanes 13. 1.
Psalme 82. 6

1 Samuel 22. 15. *Abimelech* confessed unto *Saul*, 1. *Sam.* 22. nor Saint *Paul* that great and glorious Doctor of the Gentiles, for standing at *Cæsars* judgement seat, he confessed that there he ought to be judged, and to submit himselfe to his censure, *Act.* 25. Nay, not Christ himselfe, as he was man, for he gave tribute unto *Cæsar*, and denyed not but that the power of *Pilate* was given him from above. In a word, who knowes not that this is one of his royall titles, supreame judge over all persons, and in all causes, over all persons, be they who they will be, be they who they can be, who may say unto him, what doest thou? *Eccl. siastes* 8. 4. who of the

Acts 25. 10.
Matthew 22. 20.
John 19. 11.

Eccleiast. 8. 4.

Priests

Priests? who of the Peerees? who of the People? who but He that put him in authority Almighty God?

And as he is supreame Iudge over all persons so in all causes whatsoever; defend the preservation of your liberties, of your estates, of your lives, nay, of religion it selfe: He is supreame in all causes; the cause cannot be so just as to deprive him of his supreame power.

I could multiply proofs out of Scripture to confirme this truth, take one for al, wch may stand as one in a third place of Arithmatick for a 100 they are the words of our Saviour Christ, *Mat. 26. when he was betrayed into the hands of the Iews; behold one of thē that were with Iesus stretched out his hand, and drew his sword, and strook a servant of the high-priest, and smote off his eare*: (what cause could bee more just then to defend the person of our most blessed Saviour? yet see how hee was rebuked for his pains:) Then said Iesus onto him, *put up again thy sword into it's place, for all they that take the sword, shall perish with the sword*: how so? why, because it was drawne without the consent of the Magistrate, to whom Christ himselfe did acknowledge subjection: so then this was the doctrine of the Prophets, of the Apostles, of the Primitive Christians, yea, of Christ himselfe, therefore for my owne part, till there bee a new bible made, or all these places raced out of the old one, I am resolved (by the help of God) to live and dye in this opinion.

Mat. 26, 51.

Mat. 22. 20. Ioh. 19. 11.

But what say the Iesuites to all this? their divinity is, that it is not lawfull for Christians *Tolerare Regem infidelem aut hæreticum*: to suffer a King that is an infidell or heretick to live, but to take him away with all speed, and heresie (we all doe know) hath a large extent with them, if he doe but crosse the Pope, any thing will serve to make him an hereticke, and then he must downe. And if you tell them of Saint *Paul* and Saint *Peter*, that these were of another minde, *Salmeron* very mannerly tells you againe, *Blanditur Paulus imperatoribus, sicut & Petrus in priore suâ epistolâ*, and *Peter* and *Paul* be both a couple of claw-backs, they do nothing else in those their sayings then flatter and cogge with the Emperours that then raigned; but St. *Peter* nor St. *Paul* need not care what such men say, it is well known their tongue is no slander, for they would be as ready to say as much of Christ himselfe if he stand in their way.

Bell de Rom Potif. lib. cap. 7. Iesuites Traytors

Smalmeron in Rom. 13. disp. 4.

And would you thinke it? There are such another sect in the world, who though they look divers wayes, yet like *Samsons* foxes they held together by the tayle, and carry fire betwixt them to burne up Church and State. Read but over the prophane writings of *Knox* and *Buchanan*, and you shall finde how mightily the devill hath prevailed in the

Schismaticks Traytors

 hearts

hearts of them who would have bin accounted great professors of religion, their language is such as would scare a very atheist, and make him sweare to abandon all religion: namely, that ministers may excommunicate Princes, and they being by excommunication cast into Hell, are not worthy to enjoy life upon the earth. That if Princes be tyrants against God & his truth, their subjects are free from their oath of allegeance: that God hath appointed the nobility to bridle the inordinate appetite of Princes, and in so doing, they cannot be accounted as resisters of authority. That it is the duty of the nobility to suppresse the rage and insolency of Princes; and that the people have power to bestow or take away the crowne at their pleasure, having no respect to birth-right, to succession, to propinquity of blood at all. You fire-brands of strife, you trumpets of sedition, you red horses, whose bitters have taken peace from the earth, you furies of hel, whose voices are lightnings and thundrings, whose breathing is nothing but sword, fire, rages, rebellions, (pardon me if I shake off all respect of civility towards such miscreants) is this orthodox divinity? is this according to Christ and his Apostles? surely the devill drop't poyson into their pens to infect all Christian countries with disobedience and disorder, for let them but shew me but one place of holy Scripture; (and one is but a smal number, yet let them shew me but one) either in the old or new testament, or any one of the ancient fathers, who have let fall so loose a speech, as may be strayned to make good their tenets, and I will be their bondman for ever, therefore were not the spirit of division, (I meane the devil) bin seated in their soules, they would not so openly oppose the settlings of their cotten braine against the expresse command of holy Scripture, which forbid leth so much as resistance under any Prince, though never so heathenish or tyrannicall; but as for the word rebellion, the very thought of it was so odious to Christ and his Apostles, that (as *Solon* made no law against parricide, because he thought no man would prove so wicked as to commit such a horrid fact) I do not finde it so much as once mentioned throughout the new testament, yet they have got a trick to produce some examples out of the old testament of rebellion, (which though were ever attended upon with heavy judgements from God) but I would faine know what they can force from thence: will they rake over all histories for examples of rebellion, and then argue *a facto ad jus*, and say every thing is lawfull that hath bin done? we must judge facts by law, and not laws by facts: for there hath bin no fact so impious, which may not be paralell'd by examples, will they justifie their grosse sacrilege, their unnaturall incestu-

with

Buc. de ju. reg. apud Scot. pa. 70

Knox in lib. ad Aug. eb Scot. pa. 78. In Hist. scot. pag. 343. In his appeale, pag. 334

Apoc. 6. 4.

Rom. 13. 2.

with their frequent adulteries, their notorious lying, their uncharitable judging, because they have for these examples of *Achan*, *Ammon*, *David*, *Ananias* and *Saphyra*, the Scribes and Pharisees? who then hath but halfe an eye and cannot see how these mens pens have ranged, and their judgements raged beyond all compasse, and course of reason or religion?

Iosha. 7. 19. 2 Sam. 23. 2 Sam. 11. 6. Acts 5. 4. Mat. 7. 2.

But to let goe these (as they and the devill would have it) what policy can there be in it for the Subject to oppose or resist the King upon any termes? for what can wee expect from thence but murders, out-rages, rapes, ruine and desolation? for what if the Prince aggriev'd be able to make and maintain his party as King *John* and *Henry* the third did against their Peeres? what if some forreigne Prince whom it may well concerne as well in honour to see the Law of nations observed, as also in policy to break the neck of those proceedings which may form precedents against himselfe, do come in and side with his brother king, and in the end play the kite with them both? will not this prove a pretty piece of policy? were it not farre more safe to take Saint *Pauls* counsell and be obedient unto Princes, not onely for conscience sake, because they are the ministers of God, but for our owne sake, because hee is so to us for good; it is for our safety and tranquility that we may lead under them a quiet and peaceable life; for the Prince is the very soule of the body politick, and what is the body without it but a confused lump, unformed, sencelesse, witlesse, and destitute of all meanes to maintaine or uphold it selfe, but it is quickned, and moved, and provided for and kept from dissolution only by the soule. Now of the soule there are two principall receptacles, although she be *tota in toto, et tota in qualibet parte*. The head and the heart, such is the king in respect of the body politick, he is the head, in which regard we should have him in so high esteem, as we should not onely seek his ease and welfare, but even expose our selves to any perills for his sake and safety, wee should be so far from offering violence unto him, that wee should readily receive the strokes and wounds intented against him; yea there is no part of us but would willingly endure paine by incision, scarrifying, ligature, or issue to remedy his grievances, especially considering how deare and tender all the members are to him: for such is the sympathy and fellow-feeling that he hath of the griefes of the whole body, that when the most inferiour member suffereth, he suffereth together with it, even as a little wet or cold taken in the remotest part of the body hath forthwith a ready passage to the head. Againe, the king is the heart of the body, which is the wel of life, the furnace of heat, the centry of blood, the first thing in man that lives, and the last that dies, and look as the heart sendeth forth sometimes the blood and spirits with a full flush plentiously replenishing all

No policy in resisting.

Rom. 13. 5. vers. 1 Tim. 2. 2.

The Prince is the soule of the body politicke.

The King is the head.

The King is the Heart.

Aristot.

 the

the parts of the body. And otherwhile againe, being possest with a feare of imminent danger, retireth them home with all speed to his little sconce, to comfort and fortifie it selfe: and judge if this be not sometimes the case of Kings. And whilest you are judging of that, I will passe fairly on to the second point; which is, that *Abels* innocency did not free him from subjection to his brother. If the superior have his power from God, the inferiour ought to obey him for God, no mans vertue that hee hath in himselfe, can be a warrant for him to be vitious to another, but who ever is holy and righteous must expresse it in duties to God and men. Therefore be the subject never so much in the right, and the soveraigne in the wrong, yet notwithstanding there is due from every one of them to him a threefold duty: honour to his person, subjection to his callings, obedience to his lawes. First we must honour his person, and that in word and deed; the first consisteth in speaking honourably and reverently of him, he being no other then the derivative, or rather diminutive of Almighty God. This *Moses* enjoyneth *Exod.* 22. 28. *Thou shalt not revile the Gods, nor curse the rulers of thy people*, no, not so much as in our thoughts, saith *Solomon*, *Eccles.* 10. 20. And this God takes notice of *Num.* 12. 8. as especiall indignity done unto him, wherfore are ye not afraid (saith he to *Aaron* and *Miriam*) to speake against my servant, against *Moses*, not against my servant *Moses*, but more emphatically, against my servant, against *Moses*: against my servant, although he were not *Moses*: against *Moses* my great servant, seeing hee is both my servant, and my servant *Moses*, wherefore are yee not afraid to speake against him? When this searching and piercing presumption shall get up to this highest step, and dare to pry into the kings dispositions, intentions, affections, actions, then it comes to the height of the height of *Cham*, the stubbornnes of *Esau*, the peevishnes of *Shemei*, the conspiracy of *Absolom*, the trechery of *Judas*, and deserves with them condigne punishment. For the heart of a King is unsearcheable as the height of heaven, and the depth of the earth saith *Solomon* it is as well presumptuous, as impossible to discover it, therfore saith he again, *Eccles.* 8. *Who shall say unto him, what dost thou?* But what is words without deeds? another sort then of homage is that we owe unto our Soveraigne, is to honour him with our goods, with our estates, yea, (if occasion serves) with our very lives. The children of *Belial* said, how shall this man save us? and they despised him in their hearts, and brought no gifts to him, 1. *Sam.* 10. 27. if they were the children of *Belial* that brought the King no gifts, then whose children are they that detaine him of that which is his owne? I have read over the 5th. of *Judg.* and have pretty well observed the severall passages therein, how God hath in that renowned song of *Deborah*, provided an honourable commemoration of

2 *Point.*

A threefold duty from every subject to his Soveraigne.

1 Honour,

Exodus 22. 28.

Eccles. 10. 20.

Numbers 12. 8.

Prov. 25. 3. Eccles. 8. 4.

1 Sam. 10. 27.

Iudges 5.

them who did assist His cause: First the Princes have their place: The Princes of *Isachar* were with her, *vers.* 15. And then the Governours the great Persons, & officers of State, they have their place, because they offered themselves willingly in that service, *vers.* 9. And after them the merchants that rode upon white asses; and the Judges that sate in judgement, *vers* 10. Yea an unlikelier sort of people then any of these, even they that walked by the way in the same verse. And lastly the whole body of the people, they have their place in this honour, because they offered themselves (and what will he deny, that offereth himselfe?) and willingly in this service? This was the honourable mention that God afforded them, who did assist Him, but what saith he of those, who for collaterall respects preuarieated or withdrew themselues from this imployment; he gives them a brand that should stick by them euer after: Reubens heart was to bigge to come in The diuisions of Reuben were great thoughts of heart vers. 16. Ambition of the Highest place, desire of presedency in offices of imployment, greatnes of heart, & an unwillingnes to be under the command of any other do *offentimes retard* even the cause of God: so is there a reproach & increpation layd upon Dan uer. 17. why did Dan remayn in the ships? for this they were condemned though the ships were their owne; and upon Gilead, that abode beyond *Iordan & Asher* that continued on the sea-shore when the cause of God was in hand; & for this was *Meroz* cursed, yea cursed bitterly by the *Angell* of the Lord because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the helpe of the Lord against the mighty. And therefore for the incouragement of those that did assist him in any proportion, though their assistance was no way competent against so potent an enemy, God fought himselfe to, they fought from heaven, the starres in their order fought against *Sisera*, verse 20. The Starres in their order fought, let no man pretend that hee fights for God, when he fights out of order, for God will not fight, nor bee fought for disorderly.

Verse 3. 15.

Verse 9.

Verse 10.

Verse 16.

Verse 17.

Verse 23.

Verse 20.

The duty that every Subject oweth to his Soveraigne, is submission to his high place and calling, He being no other then Gods Lieutenant and Vicegerent upon the Earth: And that not so long as he doth well, and no longer, as some simple people imagine, for what rebellion, what revolt hath ever beene made, but under some of these pretences? what can a Prince doe or leave undone that may not by malicious or ignorant interpretation forfeit His Crowne? No, no. God hath better provided for them then so; They doe not hold their Crownes *ad placitum populi*, at the peoples pleasure, but it was God that set them in their Thrones, and it is God onely that can remove them: Let them so be-

2 *Submission.*

 have

have themselves as they will answer it before God at the last day, and
Our parts there is no shift for us, but wee must bee subject. And why
should wee not in this, as well as in other things? we can endure with
patience unseasonable weather, unfruitfull yeeres, unwholesome seasons,
and such other judgements of God, because wee know they come from
Amos 3.6. God (*for shall there be evill in a Citie, and the Lord hath not done it?*)
and why should we not as well tollerate the imperfections of Princes?
Since they are Ministers sent from God to do his will? *If the Lord be not*
Romanes 13.5. 2 Chro. 1. *pleased with us, He will set a wise King over us, whom he loveth,* 2 Chron.
1. *If hee be offended at us, He will remove Him, and set up a worse in his*
Prov. 28. 2. *roome: For, for the sinnes of the Land, the Kings are changed,* Pro. 28. 2.
whither they be good or bad, there is *Digitus Dei*, the finger of God in
it, and therefor not to bee resisted nor repined at, but to bee endured with
patience.

3. Obedience. And yet we want one duty still that we owe unto Our Soveraigne,
and that is Obedience to his Lawes. Which though they do not binde
the Conscience *primario per se*, principally and by themselves, because
he onely who can punish the Soule; can bind the soule yet they doe it *per*
Matthew. 10. 28. *concomitantiam*, by way of concomitancie, because they depend upon the
Law of God, and are agreeable unto it, which *primario & per se*, doth
binde the Conscience.

It is true indeed a mans Conscience bindes him more than the com-
mandement of the Magistrate, because the Conscience hath none direct-
ly above it, but God only: yet herein we must distinguish, by putting a
difference betweene those things that are indifferent in themselves, and
those things which are simply forbidden or commanded. In things in-
different we are more bound to follow the command of the Magistrate
then our owne consciences, but in those things that are good and evill in
themselves, we are bound to follow our conscience then the command
of the magistrate. again ther's a generall mistake among us whilst we do
not distinguish betweene subjection & Obedience; for there may be sub-
jection where there is no obedience: the one is allwayes due; though not
the other. or if it be it is by distinguishing between active & passive obe-
dience: If the *King* commands me a thing not Lawfull, I will not obey
Him *Faciendo* by doing it; but *Patiendo*, I hope I shall by submitting my
self to suffer his pleasure for not doing it:

Dan. 3. 18. This was the very case of the three children Dan. 3. be it knowne unto
thee O King that we will not serue thy Gods, nor worship the golden
image which thou hast set vp; They refused to yeeld obedience to his vn-
just comands *faciendo*, yet did they acknowledge him to be their King &

did

did willingly submit to suffer any torment that he should be pleased to inflict vpon them. This was that which God by the mouth of Samuel told the Israelites before hand: 1. Sam. 8 After he had admonished them what heavy, what open injustice they should endure vnder some of their kings, he concludeth, & yee shall cry out in that day, because of your King, & the Lord will not hear you; as if he had said, ye shall grone vnder your burden, but you shall haue no power either to shrink from it or shake it off. 1 but the people of *England*, are not like the children of *Israel*, they for their disobedience were made slaues unto their Gouernours, but we are a free nation, I haue Lawes to be ruled by, let the King say what he will; God be thanked that we can tell now what is lawfull, and what not. It was not so from the beginning, for in the first Heroicall ages, it is evident the people were not governed by any positive Law, but their Kings did both judge and command by their word, by their will, by their absolute power, without either restraint or direction, but only o' the law of nature, but because it grew both troublesome and tedious for all the people to receaue their right from one man (as *Iethro* advised *Moses*) therfore were laws invented and officers appointed to execute the same under the supreame Magistrate.

1 Samuel 8.

Obiect. 1.

Resp.

Sir John Hayward.

Genesis 18. 18.

But our Kings are bound to observe the Lawes as well as we, They take an Oath at their Coronation to do nothing thereunto repugnant, & if they doe, They shall finde that there is law for Them as well as for others: which is as if in direct terms they should say thus much: Sir Kings, whilest our heads were under your girdle, we were content to be obedient to your commands, because we had no way to helpe it, but now we haue gotten the winde of you, and made you sweare that you will not transgresse the lawes established, we tell you plainly the case is altered, you hold your crownes meerely at our courtesie, and are indeed no other then Lieutenants Generall, we haue the power upon your misdemeanour to keepe you up, or to put you downe.

Obiect. 2.

Prophane men! Is Christian Religion become a meere policy? doth the word of God change and vary with the times? are Gods ordinances alterable according to the wilfulnesse of the Giddy multitude; was it death in former times to disobey the ruler of the people, and may he now with *Athens* be chased, nay worried by his owne hounds? May the Lords Lieutenant, the Lords Annoynted be kept in, or caste out of state at the pleasure of his subjects? Is he become of worse condition then the Lord of a Mannour, then a parish Priest, then a poore School-master, who cannot be thrust out by any vnder their charge?

Resp:

John 1. 12.

Gen. 49. 6. O my soule come not thou into their secrets. But what if the King do at his coronation take an oath that he will beare himself regardfull of the advancement of the lawes established? doth he in so doing condemne or restraine himself or his authority? should he not be King if he did not take that oath? Surely yes. onely it is his gracious pleasure to make an honourable promise that he will endeavour to discharge his duty, which promise he is bound to performe by the bonds of conscience and feare, yet if he doe not, his person onely is hereby affected, not his authority, the one is tyed and bound in honour, the other is in force, though performances faile. The promise of the Prince is free and voluntary, hee need not have made it except he had would, yet being made, his duty in performing it is necessary, in duty I call it onely in respect of God before whom he sware, but to us it was a princely excellency and an act of grace.

Obiect. 3. Resp. But is not the King then subject to the law as well as others, I answer, to the directive part of the law he is, but not to the coactive part of it, as thou wouldst have it: as the law is the rule of justice, and the line by which both Prince and people must be guided, so is the Prince subject thereunto: but as it is an instrument which the Prince useth in ruling of the people, so is the King free and not subject to it.

Conclusion. I come now to unburden your overwearied patience with a briefe conclusion, by way of application to the present times. If a bad Prince must be honoured, submitted to, and obeyed out of conscience, then how much more a good one with all readines? If it be wicked and bloody tyrants due, how much more is it required from all men to godly and pious Princes, under whose peaceable and religious Government, the gospell of Christ is cherished, learning advanced, factious spirits suppressed, wholesome lawes enacted, the bond of unity maintained, and our very goods and lives preserved?

It was a passionate and patherical speech that Saint *Ambrose* had upon the death of *Gratian* and *Valentinian* two famous Emperours; *Percussa es, ô ecclesia in una maxilla cum amittens Gratianum pietatis alteram maxillam circumvertisti, ut percussa esset in utraque maxilla lacrimæ tibi fluerent*: Thou were smitten, ô poore Church on the one cheeke when thou lostest *Gratian*; thou turnedst the other cheeke when *Valentinian* died, justly therefore hast thou teares not on one but on both thy cheeks: I may say truely of this Church of *England* she had a blow on the one cheek when famous *Elizabeth* died, she suffered on the other checke when good king *James* was taken from us, and just cause had we to have wept with both eyes, had not these wounds bin healed by the coming of our most gracious Soveraigne King *Charles*, for whom let us give God thankes, and think our selves as happy in him, as any nation in the world is in their Prince, indeed hee is set as a sparkling gemme in the ring of this round world not to be paraleld by any or all the princes of the earth for his piety and uprightnesse towards God, for his temperance and sobriety in himself, for his mercy and clemency to his people.

Psalme 61. 6. Psalme 21. 2. Psalme 59. 10. Psalme 21. 3. Psalme 68. 30. 2 Samuel 15. 29. Prov. 21. 5. 6. Psalme 132. 18. Psalme 70. 13. Revel. 1. 7. Prolong ô God the Kings life and his years as many generations, give him ô Lord the desire of his heart, and deny him not the requests of his lips, prevent him with the blessings of goodnesse, and set a crown of pure gold upon his head, ebuke the company of speare-men, the multitude of the bulls, with the calves of the People, till every one Submit himself with PIECES of SILVER, Scatter thou the people that delight in warre. But let the soule of our Lord be bound up in the bundle of life, let his glory be great in thy salvation, honour and majesty do thou lay upon him, give him everlasting felicity and make him glad with the joy of thy countenance, as for his enemies cloath them with shame, but upon himselfe let his crowne flourish: So we thy people and sheep of thy pasture, will give thee thankes for ever, we will shew forth thy praises to all Generations, even so, Amen.

FINIS.

MERCVRIVS RVSTICVS,

OR,

The Countries Complaint of the Murthers, Robberies, Plunderings, and other Outrages committed by the Rebells on His MAJESTIES *faithfull Subjects.*

THat the Kingdom might not be undone but at their own charges, ſundry wayes and arts, both by force and intreaty, have been uſed to extort monies from the Kings good Subjects to maintain the preſent Rebellion: amongſt others M. *Gray* of *VVendlingborow* Clark of the Peace for the County of *Northampton* was aſſaulted by perſwaſion, and very earneſtly ſollicited by Sir *Rowland* St *John*, to contribute liberally to this unnaturall Warre: but his refuſall to partake in ſo crying a ſinne, did produce a double effect, indignation in the Rebells, that hate all men that runne not into the ſame exceſſe of Treaſon & Rebellion with them, becauſe others backwardneſſe doth upbraid their forwardneſſe that ruſh into Rebellion like the horſe into the Battell: but brought forth imitation in others, not only in *Wendlingborow* but in ſome Villages bordering on that Town: who ſeeing ſo good a preſident of Loyalty, refuſe with him to hearken to ſo Traiterous propoſalls: and now thinking themſelves indangered by their refuſall, and expoſed to the mercy of Rebell Plunderers: they enter into a conſultation how to ſecure themſelves from violence, and reſolve to come to each others aſſiſtance, if the Dragooners from *North-hampton* or any elſe ſhould aſſault them, upon notice given by jangling their Bells: and that the World might not think their fears to be groundleſſe, on the 26. of *December* 1642. at 12. of the clock at night

Captain *Francis Sawyer* (and as is ſuppoſed a brother of Sir *Gilbert Pickerings*) attended by 100. Dragooners beſet M. *Grayes* houſe: and the ſignall of jangling the Belles being diſcovered by ſome of the Towne that were of their faction, to prevent the Alarme to the Country, they tye up the Bell-ropes, & place a guard of twelve Musketeers in the Church-yard to ſecure the paſſage to the Bell-frey: having thus beſet the houſe, and as they thought fruſtrated the deviſe of calling the confederate Villages to their helpe, Captain *Sawyer* demands entrance, M. *Gray* out of his Window tells him that he and his family were in bed, and withall deſired to know what their intentions were thus in the dead of the night to diſturb their reſt, and what warrant they had to command entrance? they returne him anſwer that they had a warrant to apprehend his perſon, and ſeize on his Plate and Armes for the uſe of the Parliament: halfe an hower was ſpent in this parley, M. *Gray* protracting the time, that perhaps his Neigbours hearing of his danger might come to his reſcue: which accordingly fell out, for ſome of the Town hearing that the Rebells had beſet M. *Grayes* houſe, haſten towards the Church that by the ſound of the Bells (the Signall agreed on) they might ſummon the Country: when they come thither, they find the way intercepted, a guard of Musketeers denying them entrance: but inraged to find oppoſition where they did not expect it, they fell foule on the guard, beat them off, took five of their Muſkets, forced their entrance, and ſo rang the Belles. Hereupon the Rebells, fearing that their entrance was delayed thereby to gain time till the Towne and Country might come in to his Reſcue, brake open a Window, and put in one or two of their company who preſently open the doores to them and give them free entrance; having thus poſſeſſed themſelves of the houſe, their firſt work is to ſeize upon *M. Grayes* perſon, to this purpoſe they make directly to his Chamber whom they found in his ſhirt, and would hardly give him leave to put on his cloathes; and that their ſeizing of his perſon might not be without all ſhew of authority, they produce a warrant ſigned by the Earle of *Eſſex* in which *M. Grayes* name was, this they ſhew only but will not permit them to read it. All the Monies and Plate which they found in the Houſe they take away, and as for *M. Gray* himſelfe having taken him priſoner, they compell him to goe on foot from *Wendlingborow* to *Welby*: while they

they are on their way towards *Welby* some 40. or 50. men from *Wendlingborow* armed only with Swords and Staves come to rescue *M. Gray* from the Rebells: after a short skirmish (wherein one or two of the Pursuers were hurt only, not slain) finding that they were unequall for the Rebells both in Number and Armes, leaving the prey in the hands of the Oppressors, they retreat to *Wendlingborow* being returned thither they find 500. of the Country come in to their assistance: the common people (who seldome love or hate moderately) inraged that *M. Gray* should thus be taken from them, especially some of his poor Neighbours, who in him were robbed of the reliefe which they received from his Charity, resolve to make some of the Rebells faction in that Towne sensible of their displeasure: and therefore since they cannot wreck their Anger on the Rebells that did the fact, they fall fowle on those that did approve it, if they were not abettors and under-hand contrivers of it: they break their windowes, break into some of their houses and spoyle their goods: amongst the number of those that suffered under the fury of the people, a Chandler and a Cooper underwent the greatest losse, yet it could not be much, since upon a strict survey the whole spoyle don in the Town did not amount to 30l. Many of this assembly, utterly disliking such disorders, did not only reprove the chiefe actors in this outrage, but to discountenance their proceeding withdrew themselves: They of the Town to their houses, they of the Countrey to their severall habitations: so that by the break of day the Tumult was appeased and the Town cleared. while these things were in doing, the Cooper and one or two with him post away to M. *Perne* the Parson of *Welby* a Turbulent and Seditious man, and make their complaint to him, and to inflame him that was too apt to kindle without their help, they doe not only aggravate their own losses at *Wendlingborow* but tell him that they threatned to come and doe the like at *Welby*: M. *Perne* (changing his black coat for a gray) instantly goes to *North-hampton*, and there represents the injury done to their faction at *Wendlingborow* and the pretended danger of *Welby* so effectually, that by Noon that Tuesday Colonell *Norwich* commanding in chief, Sergeant-Major *Mole*, Captain *Iohn Sawyer*, Captain *Francis Sawyer*, Captain *Pentlow*, Captain *Redman*, Captain *Farmer*, Captain *Harrold*, with 500 but others say 1000 Horses and Dragooners, came to *Wendling-*

borow: being come thither, they divide themselves into severall Troopes to make good severall passages into the Towne, thereby to keepe out the Countrey that were comming to their ayde, Captain *John Sawyer* with 80 or a 100 Dragooners enters the Towne at that side which leads to *Welby*: and riding in the Front of his men marched directly towards M. *Neile* of *Woollaston* and some few with him who stood to oppose him: *Sawyer* discharges at M. *Neile*, and whom he missed with his bullet he would be sure to hit with his tongue, shooting out arrowes, even bitter words, calling him *Popish Rascall*: but what reward shall be given unto thee ô thou false Tongue? he stayed not long without it; for the words were no sooner spoken, and (to second his words) a charge given to his Souldiers to give fire, but he received what he would have given, his deaths wound by a shot in the head & necke by Goose-shot, which made him fall on his horse neck, which shot was seconded by a Country man, who with a Club beat him of his horse into the dirt; being thus beaten down, the women to revenge their Husbands Quarrell fasten on him: but M. *Oliver Gray* (Nephew to M. *Gray* before mentioned) and M. *Woolaston* rescued him out of their hands, who otherwise had immediatly dyed the death of *Sisera* by the hands of women. Reprived thus for some few houres, they carry him to one *Grays* house an Alehouse-keeper, whose wife was Captaine *Sawyers* Aunt, where they administred what helpe they could, but in vaine, for after two & twenty houres Languishment he dyed: as soon as Captain *Sawyer* was fallen, his Souldiers instantly ranne away, only his Son, unwilling to leave his Father, followed him to the hazard of his life by many wounds which he received. In other Ports of the Towne, the Townes-men quit themselves like valiant Souldiers and loyall Subjects, and with very little helpe of the Country kept the Rebells out: M. *Grays* man and another, with each man his Musket kept out above a 100 at the lower end of the Towne, and repelled them twice or thrice: and had not Captaine *Sawyer* comming to himselfe a little before his death, perswaded them that it was in vaine to stand out, there being three Peeces on the way from *Northampton* to batter the Towne (which proved true) and withall perswading them to write a letter to the Commanders, promising that upon their submission the Towne should be secured, they had held it out to the last man:

but

but the dying Captaine prevayled with them, they write a letter according to his advice, which as they say was signed by his owne hand, the apprehension of his desperate condition having put new thoughts in him. But this Resolution not being so fully made known to the Town as a businesse of that concernment ought to have been, some of the Towne, being ignorant of any Treaty, made some shot, and the Rebells willing to take advantage rush into the Towne, and put both those of the Towne and Country to flight: Captain *Francis Sawyer* much inraged for his Brother, and comming neere the place where his Brother was wounded, seeing M. *Flint* the Curate of *Harrowden* stand there, not any way ingaged in the Resistance, haven not given any provocation, he barbarously strook him with his Pole-axe and cleft his head downe to the eyes, of which wound he dyed instantly: the earth drinking up that innocent blood, shed by the hand of an accursed *Doeg*, which like the blood of *Abel* calls loud in the eares of God for vengeance upon them who authorize and countenance such horrid Murthers; *Cursed be his anger for it was fierce, and his wrath for it was cruell.* Being masters of the Town at three of the Clock in the afternoone, they beginne to Plunder, and continue the spoyle untill the next day-light fayled them, untill Wednesday night, in this time they carry away the wealth of the Towne to *Northampton* and other places, sparing none but those whose tongues were framed to *Shiboleth*, men of their owne Faction, whether they were active against them or stood Neuters: by which Essay those Lukewarme men (who stand pendulous equally poysed betweene Rebellion and Loyalty, and know not which side to leane unto) may guesse what measure they are like to receive from the Rebells hands if ever they come to have them in their power. In the Towne two men especially suffer under these free-booters, M. *Gray* and M. *Fisher*, from the first being Clarke of the Peace they take away the Commissions of peace, the Sessions Rolls, together with his owne Evidences and Leases, all his house-hold-stuffe, even to his very Bed-coards, leaving but one Sheet for his wife and five Children, his Wheat and other Corne they give to their Horses, what they did not eat, they threw into the Streets, and trampled it in the dirt: from the other they took goods, and other things amounting to a very great Summe, and to compleat their wickednesse, to their oppression they adde scorne, for having

taken away all that they could, in derision they affixe protections in writing under Colonell *Norwich* his hand, at his and some others doores, forbidding any man to plunder: generally what they could not carry away they spoyle, so that the losse sustained by the Towne is valued at 6000l. They tooke M. *Neile* prisoner and some forty more, amongst them they took the Vicar M. *Iones* a grave and learned man, but lame & very sickly, and having plundered him of all he had they mount him on a poor lade, with a halter instead of a bridle; the rest they tye two & two together, and drive them before the to *Northampton*. M. *Gray* as I told you was the day before led Prisoner to *Welby*, from thence to *Northampton*, where his prison cannot afford him protection from the fury and rage of the Souldiers, to make way to his death, they threaten to pull down the house where he was confined, and the Commissioners finding that he could not remaine there with safety, were constrained to send him away privately to *London*; being come thither, Articles are framed and exhibited against him, which being examined at a Committee and no proof at all made, he was voted to be discharged his Imprisonment, yet to delude Iustice and the *Petition of right*, the Chayre-man could never find a time to make his report to the house, so that, for ought we yet understand to the contrary, he remaines a Prisoner to this day.

On the 28 of *January* last, the Castle of *Sudley* upon Composition was delivered up to the Rebells; there were Articles agreed on and sworne to, but as he spake truly, *Children were deceived with apples and Men with Oathes*; the Rebells as they sweare to Articles for their advantage, so they break them as easily for their advantage, and make perjury an easy uninterrupted passage to Theft and Robbery, for these Rebells brake as many Articles as they swore unto: they plunder not only the Castle, the Seate and house of the Lord *Chandois* and *Winchcombe* a neighbouring Village, to the utter undoing the poor Inhabitants, but in defence of the Protestant Religion and vindication of the honour of God, they prophane his house: There is in the Castle a goodly faire Church, here they digge up the graves and disturbe the ashes of the dead: they breake downe the Antient Monuments of the *Chandoses*, and instead thereof, leave a prodigious Monument of their Sacrilegious Prophanenes: for each part of the Church they find a peculiar way to prophane it: the low-

er

er part of it they make their Stable, the Chancell their Slaughter house, unto the Pulpit (which of all other places in probability might have escaped their impiety) they fasten pegges to hang the Carcasses of their Slaughtered sheep: the Communion-Table, according to their owne language, they make their Dresser or Chopping-board to cut out their meat; into the vault, wherein lay the bodies of the *Chandoses* an Antient and honourable family, they cast the guts and garbage: mingling the loathsome Intralls of beasts with those bones and ashes which did there rest in hope of a Joyfull Resurrection. The Naue or body of the Church was all covered with the dung and blood of beasts: and which was (if it be possible) a degree beyond these prophanations in contempt of God and his holy Temple, they defile each part and corner both of Church & Chancell which their owne Excrements, and going away left nothing behind them in the Church (besides walls and Seates) but a stinking memory that part of the Parliament Army raised for the defence of Religion had been there: let that railing *Rabshekah* or jearing *Sanballat*, I mean the Author of the ridiculous Pamplet intituled, *One Argument more against the Cavaliers*; read this story, and then tell me which are most guilty of prophanation of Churches, The *Cavaliers* or the *Roundheads*, which were most prophaned, either St *Mary Maudlins* in *Oxford*, or the Church at *Sudly* Castle, and yet this dogge sticks not with *Shimei* to barke at his Soveraigne and blaspheme his Piety, as if the Rebells brought from *Cyrencester* had been Quartered in this Church by his approbation, who to expiate that guilt gave an 150^l. to adorne and beautify that Church. The truth is, there was a fault in the Commanders for lodging *them* in *Churches*, who if they had had their due, had been *hanged for Rebellion*, their Carcasses exposed to the *Foules of the ayre*, and the *Beast of the Field*, that the *Ravens of the Valleyes* might have had their due Portion, & never suffered them to come so neare the Church, as to have the priviledge of Christian buriall in the Church-yard, *So, even so, let all the Kings Enemies perish, O Lord, and let all the People say*, Amen.

In St *Maries* Church in *Warwick* and the Chappell (commonly called the *Earles Chappell*) adjoyning to the Quire of that Church, are diverse faire Monuments of the *Beauchamps*, anciently Earles of that place, which Family long flourishing there had been great Benefactors & beautifiers of that Church, whereof *Thomas Beauchamp*

(*Earle*

(*Earle* of *Warwick* & *Earle Marshall* of *England*, & one of the Founders of the most Noble order of the Garter in the Raigne of King *Edward* the 3d) built the Quire now standing, in the midst whereof is his Monument, and adorned the windowes with the Pictures of himselfe, his wife, and Children which were many, upon the Surcoates of the men were their Armes skilfully depicted, the women having the like, and Mantles, over which were the armes of their Matches, their Husbands being the prime Nobility of those times: the like Portraitures in glasse, but much more Rich & Costly, were in that Stately Chappell before mentioned; In this stood the Monument of Earle *Richard* being Brasse gilt; and in the opinion of Iudicious obſervant Travellers esteemed the rarest Piece erected for any Subject in the Christian World: but such is the barbarousnesse of the pretenders to Reformation, that upon Wednesday the 14th of this instant *June*, the Souldiers by the appointment and incouragement of one (whom in this degenerous times wherein the dregs of the people are made Commanders for the advancement of Rebellion) men call Colonell *Puerfey* (a man of a meane and desperate fortune, but by the meanes of the late Lord *Brooke* chosen Burgesse of Parliament for *Warwick*, and who had the greatest Influence in seducing that unhappy Lord to this desperate Rebellion, in which he miserably perished:) did beat downe and deface those Monuments of Antiquity, and not content with this, by the same Command they breake downe the Crosse in the market place, not leaving one Stone upon another, *Purefey* all the while standing by, animating and incouraging them, untill they had finished their so barbarous worke. In which the World may observe that these men are the sworne Enemies, not only of pretended Superstition, but of the Ensignes of Nobility and Gentry, that if their *Diana*, I meane their *Parity* may take effect, Posterity may forget and not read the distinction of Noble from ignoble in these venerable Monuments of ancient Nobility: there being in these Windowes some thing indeed to instruct a Herauld, nothing to offend the weakest Christian.

FINIS.

Musarum Oxoniensium

EΠIBATHPIA

Sereniſſimæ Reginarum

MARIÆ

EX

BATAVIA FELICITER

REDUCI

Publico Voto D. D. D.

July 31 OXONIÆ,

Excudebat LEONARDUS LICHFIELD
Academiæ Typographus. 1643.

14

Acad. Oxon. Bodleian

K.

Ad Sereniſsimum REGEM

CAROLUM.

GRatamur tibi (*Cæſar*) hos triumphos,
Quos præmiſerat auſpicatus *Almæ*
Reginæ reditus. Senem Poëtam
Fecerunt reditus *Deæ Britannûm*,
Phœbeioſq; iterùm Camœna motus
Languens, *Iſidis* ad fluenta, captat.
Languores tamen excutit MARIA,
Et Pæana canit Novena turba
Per me, carmina dans ovantiora.

Ad Sereniſſ. REGINAM

MARIAM.

EXpectata diu, votiſq; optata tuorum
Tandem Diva *venis*: Carolumq; *tuoſq; Co-*
Atq; alacres reddis, propiori numine, Muſas.
Succeſſuq; beas. Vix unquam Auguſtior ulla
Senſit adorantes populos, meruitve. Tributum
Te veniente dabunt Sceptro quod Iura repoſcunt.
Eia age Victrices Carolo *jam necte Coronas.*
Stamfordum Hoptono *ter debellante ſuperbum*
Candiſio Arctoôs *jam profligante tumultus,*
Ruperto *profugam per caſtra rebellia gentem*
Caſtigante. Novas Bellona Britannica *laurus*
Et nova ſerta parat. Namq; aurea ſecla reportat,
Armatas ſegetes atq; inſperata Metalla.
Scilicet hæc Dominæ *ſervata trophæa* MARIÆ.

Jo. TOLSON Coll. Oriel.
Præpoſit: Vicecan: OXON.

POst longum exilium, fugam, & pericla,
Adsit Pieridum chorus, nec una
Ex Musis deerit, Charis nec una.
Scribamus Iuvenes, Senésq; versus,
Me nunc emeritum facit poetam;
Invito Genio, redux *Maria*.
Post casus varios, soli, salsq;,
Iactata es Pelago, magisq; Terrâ,
Infidum mare, littus inquietum,
Infidum mare, sed magis popellus,
Ingratus, stupidus, rudis popellus:
Multorum capitum fera est, nec unquam
Portentum simile huic videbat Afer.
Sed pulsis nebulis magis nitesces,
Tu Mater Patriæ, salus tuorum,
Mundi delitiæ, decúlq; sexûs,
Virtutum archetypa, & Corona Regni,
Vxorum optima, *Caroloq́*, digna,
Matrúmq; optima, *Caroloq́*, digna,
Scribant te Historici, silent Poetæ,
Virtutes superant tuæ poësin.

SAMUEL FELL *Decanus Ecclesiæ Christi, Sereniss. Regi à sacris.*

ANgliaci salve jubar Orbis, Gratius ecquod
Phænomenon Britonum cœlis emersit Abundè
Natales *Mariæ* probas, Patre Æthere cretam
Hinc colimus, nec mortales agnoscimus ortus,

Quod maria ac terras adeò indefeſſa ſalutes.
Egreſſum Redituſq; tuos Æneide longâ
Virgilii centum, centum celebrare Marones
Quàm poſſent, quàm Te acceptam lætabitur ingens
Proprius Æneas, geminiq; lubentèr Iüli! (nunt,
Nempe hoc Trojugenûm eſt, hoc Cœlum Fataq; cer-
Quicquid vel Danäi, quicquid ſecùs egit Vlyſſes.

RIC. BAYLIE S.T.D. *Coll. D. Ioan. Bapt. Præſ.*

QUæ Tibi cauſa fuit, peregrinas viſere terras?
Vt tam noſtra diù Gens viduata foret? (ris,
An Tibi grata minùs poſt tot tua pignora amo-
Ingrata an potiùs Gens fuit illa Tibi?
Oh! licèt ingrata eſt; redeas componere lites:
Scit victrix Bonitas reddere morigeram.
Sit licèt immanis (quod nôſti) bellua, Vulgus;
Veſtra manus poterit vel domitare feras.

PAULUS HOOD S.T.D. *Rector Coll. Linc.*

ReX optIMVs, RegIna NobILIs, Regia proLes,
tVtI DIV VIVant.

MDCXLIII.

SAlvus quòd maneas, & tutus, maxime Regum,
Gratia debetur tutanti plurima Cœlo.
Salvaq;, Te ſalvo, nobis, Civilia, Sacra;

Oſanus

Olanus tutusq; diu fis, Optime Regum.
Tutaq; quòd redeas, post tot discrimina rerum,
Tristibus à tantis, celebris, miranda *Maria*,
Gaudia fers Regi, vitæ, nostræq; saluti,
O longùm longùm firmentur gaudia vestra.
Et splendens dulcis prædulcis Regia Proles,
Gaudia præsentis, venturi gaudia sæcli,
Spes nostrûm, vestrûm quoq; gaudia magna parentûm,
O longùm tuti vivatis splendida Proles.

Fert Conjunctio siderum benigna
Semper prospera læta multa Mundo;
Hæc conjunctio siderumq; præsens
Regis, Conjugis, Optimæq; Prolis
Fert Orbi bona multa magna nostro.
Felix Oxonium, Britanna Tellus.

Tho. Clayton *Med. Profess. Regius, Coll. Pemb. Mag.*

REgina Victrix, orbe ab Arctoo redux,
Armata Pallas, Castra Musarum suo
Lætata *Phœbo*; & has Athenarum sacras
Lustravit Arces, duplici Vultûs simul
Ensisq; fulgens Lumine. O Regni potens
Bellona nostri; mira lassatæ Salus
Roburq; Gentis, quæ per armatas ruis
Densasq; turmas hostium intrepido gradu!
Regnare cur non postulas? Salicæ jacent.
Ceduntq; Leges, Diva, Virtuti Tuæ,

Dum

Dum Bellicoſæ comprobant artes Marem.
Videre ſexu fœminam exuram ſuo,
Ferróq; cinctam armiſq; Reginam licet.
Armis Togatos ipſa jam cingi docet,
Et Militantes eſſe vel Muſas jubet.

THO. READE LL.D.N.C.S.

CRebra Tridentifero Regi cadat Hoſtia, crebra
Victima Pompilus, victima Thunnus erit.
Nerea qui placidum HEROINÂ fecit eunte,
Quiq; HEROINÂ retroeunte dedit.
Pronuba vicinas Terras *Henr'etta* maritat,
Angliaci, Belgæ: jam velut ante, ſumus.
Oſcula *Lugduni* Muſis, *Oxonia* figit
Ignitas *Thamiſi Sequana* miſcet aquas.
Anglizat Batavus, pariter *Bataviſat* & *Anglus*.
Vnica gens extat, quæ modò bina fuit.
Scotia deficiet, defecit triſtis Ierne,
Belgica defectas ſupplet utraſq; plaga.
Intactis Mammis *Henretta* revertit Amazon,
Quæ *Venus* exivit, Penthefilea redit.
Penthefilea redit, quæ debellare Rebelles
Eſt potis (Augurium nec mihi fallit avis)
Angliça Pallas adeſt Magni *Iovis* Ἀιγίδα vibrans
Quamq; Chlamys decorat quam decoratq; Toga;
Macte Tuam Regina Ratem ſtabilire Britannam
Quam freta, quam venti, quam fera vexat Hyems,
Auſpiciis pariter pia pax, cum Cæſare regnet.

Quam

Quamq; Chlamys celebret quam celebretq; Toga.

GEO. WAKE *Procurator Sen. è Coll. Mag. Soc.*

DIffunde vultus; lumine dissipa
Turmas Rebelles; occidat, occidat
Grex isteplusquam perduellis,
Carnifices meritus secures.

Audite voces turpè cadentium,
Nos nos Popellum lusimus impii.
Nunc *Henrietta* es, nunc *Maria*,
Nunc *Caroli* genuina Conjux.

Quò jam malarum conscius artium?
Quó nunc Coactæ Militiæ Duces?
Quò Civis istas passus artes?
Quò fugiet metuendus Ordo?

Concepta ponit Regna Senatulus,
Promissa ponunt Prædia Servuli,
Fractisq rebus Réguleios
Insula Pauperior tenebit.

O Iusta lasi Conjugis, & Tui,
Canenda vindex, ocyùs assere;
Oppressa Legum non minorem
Sacra diu meruêre dextram.

Quantus resurges Historicis labor!
Quantus Poëtis! Siqua probaverint
Seri Nepotes, imputabunt
Ipsa suam Tibi Scripta vitam.

Dum Tanta spretis consulis Artibus,
Dum Tanta pulsas restituis Deas;
Frugale donum consecramus,
Accipe, quam tribuis, Salutem.

GUL. CARTWRIGET *ex Æde Ch. Proc. Iun.*

Vicit iter durum pietas, nec Te remorantur
Vel qui concutiunt mascula corda, metus.
Borbonis ergo jure audis, & Nata Parentem
Pectoris intrepidi nobilitate refers.

IO. RAUS *Acad. Bibliothecarius.*

RIdete tandem Gratiæ,
Dii, Deæq; singulæ,
Festivus est Iô dies
REDVCI MARIÆ.
Vobis Poetis Aulicis,
Vobis poetis Isidis
Promo repostûm Massicum;
Illud nobile CAROLO
Quod fudi REDUCI, merum.
Sex sicco pocla CAROLO,

Bes.

Bessem CAROLIDI dabo,
Novem HENRIETTA vendicat.
Ocyus puer!
Totos deunces, & cados
Laticis coronati volo,
Cyathis coronatis bibam.
Festivus est Iô dies
REDVCI MARIÆ.
Calere nunc dabitur mero,
Et quando justius: tamen
Hâc lege vobis ebibo,
Vinum meretur versibus,
Et Barbiton pulsabitis.
Sic spes amores, dulcibus
Vestras, coronent suaviis.
Per Cæliæ Bellæ faces,
Per Flaviæ pulchræ genas,
Meæ per ignes *Carulæ*,
Et per Lepores *Borbonæ*
Testor poetas singulos.
Facili fruantur Cæliâ,
Facili fruantur Flaviâ,
Nymphæ & facetiis meæ.
Facili fruemur CAROLO,
Dum MARIAM cantabimus.
HANC scribite, & regnet Rosa;
Rotetis uncti: Bellicos
Motus, & arma civica,
Sicci timebunt milites.
Evan rotator lyncibus,

Nostrum tuetur myrrhinum.
Eiâ ad lucernas conscias
REDVCI MARIÆ plaudite,
Festivus est Iô dies.

Mauritius Williams Eq. Aur. SS. MM. *Med. quondam è Coll. Oriel.*

SYdera quæ *Batavas* in littora nostra Carinas
Duxerunt? Vultûs sydera, Nympha, Tui.
Belga sed incaluit gelidus, vinumq; poposcit,
Quandò regi proprio lumine vidit Onus.
Tantas vexit opes nec, qui resolutus ab Indis
Fulgida comportat pondera, lætus Iber:
Nec redit Occiduo qui dives Aromate Belga,
Cùm Fusa imprægnat lintea Mercis odor.
Exierat Paucis Mater, Populoq; reversa est,
Armatâ & peperit Regna, *Maria*, rate.
Casside (Diva) Tuâ Plebs vivit, *Carolus* Auro:
Aurum misisti, jam quoq; Gemma venis.

STEPH. MILLINGTON *ex Æde Ch.*

Νῦν Μαρίη παλίνοστος ἀθῷοις Χερσὶ φέρουσα
Θαλλὸν, ὅτῳ πόντου οἶδμα κατέσχε μέλαν.
Ὠκεανοῖο Θεὸς πρὶς ὑφῆκε πόδεσσι τρίαιναν,
Ἔπλετο σιγαλέη πᾶσα θάλασσα ῥόοις.
Ἀγγλία φεῦ ταραχαῖς βαρυδίνου κύματα πόντου
Νικᾷ, καὶ Βορέην, ζῶάτε λυσσαλέα.
Αἴολος, Ἀλκύονες, σῖτος, Βορέην, Ἅλα, Θῆρας
Δαμνᾷ. Ἀγγλιακὰς, τὺ, Βασίλισσα, πόλις.

GUIL. IACKSON *Ænæi Nasi.*

ARma viramq; cano --- πολύτροπον ἡ μάλα πολλὰ
Πλάγχθη ———
Sic fluit, & vestris gaudet colludere fatis,
Semideos quoties voluit celebrare vetustas:
Hæc Te (Diva) canunt oracula, quicquid & olim
Non mortale fuit, solùm tua dicier umbra
Gestit, & in tantos servantur sæcula fastos.
Ipsa quidem duros Ithaci Æneæq; labores
Æquâsti, sed consiliis vincens πολυμῆτιν,
Et pietate *Pium*: memini, & meminisse pudebit
Temporis illius (nullis inscribere fastis
Quod licet, & tantùm perituro dicere versu)
Quo Te, Depositum Patriæ, totoq; Secundum
Orbe Caput, vento tutam, & furialibus undis,
Turba petit scelerata, & fulmine devovet Orco:
Agnovit fulmen Dominam, pelagusq; fatetur
Cujus jura timet, tantùm mortalia corda
Sævius insurgunt, plus est feritatis in illis.
Ire paras contrà, nec Te valuêre morari
Vis inimica virûm, & cæci vesania vulgi;
Vrget Amor, Virtusq; obstantia fata repellit:
Qualiter Eõo cùm primum à littore surgit
Sol pater, & lustrat renovatâ lampade terras,
Rorantes Nebulæ, laxataq; semina noctis
Antevolant radios, & nigrâ aspergine tingunt;
Ille rubet vultu tanquam pudibundus, at instat
Securus decoris, donec mox cuspide fulvâ
Emicet, & vacuo spargat ludibria Cœlo.
Cura Deûm Princeps, propter quam Belgia Delos
Evasit, mersumq; diu caput exerit undis;

Cura Deûm Princeps, etiam nunc Imperatrix,
Quâ formosa minùs nec fortior astitit Illa
Thermodoontiacis olim quæ ad Pergama turmis
Dux erat, ut fractæ *Priami* succurreret urbi:
(Talibus armatam *Iunonem* credere fas est
Suppetiis auxisse *Iovem*, cùm bella moveret
Terrigenûm proles, cœlumq; lacesseret armis;)
I, thalamis succede tuis, & gaudia carpe
Quæ Tu firma facis, tanti merx digna laboris
Cæsar erit, solo cujus de pectore bellum
Exulat; omnis abest augustâ fronte tumultus,
Et nitet usq; sui similis, dum Patris Olivam
Contexit Lauro, & media inter prælia fulget
Pacificus victor, veluti cùm lumine Phœbus
Torret & infestos jaculator desuper ignes,
Ipse calore vacans, & nullo concitus æstu.
Ergóne Fortunæ Reduci jam thure litamus,
An, Bellona, tibi? Seu Tu nova sacra reposcis
O Hymenæe, tuum quando hic est cernere numen,
Et pœnè extinctis reparantur gaudia tedis?
(Quàlis erat virtus cui Divûm tanta potestas
Subvenit & multos satagit præstare triumphos!)
Vos quoq; felices animæ, quas ignea virtus
Ascripsit cœlo, patriæq; & principis ardor,
(Nulla dies famam sacrataq; nomina letho
Immerget) siquid vobis mortalia curæ
Hunc reditum, nostrosq; deos, & gaudia tanta
Spectatis læti, quoniam fecistis & illa.
At vos, ô magnis semper gens invida sceptris
Agmina Tonsilium, pravum pecus, ite misselli,

Carpite

Carpite quas placuit votis exposcere turbas;
(Non equidem invideo:) Musis facit otia Cæsar,
Et, quo vos calamo superat facundus, eodem
Nos Ipsum laudare docet, qui fortia bella
Stravit inops nervorum, (ita, si quis prenderit Vnctum,
Labentur digiti:) cœli sic jure Coronam
Induit: & quando voluit Deus ipse mereri
Cùm Rex bella parat, tandem victricibus armis
Ipse aderit, justoq; reget libramine gentes,
Et dabit exodio tragicum siccare dolorem.

RADOLPHUS BATHURST A.M.
Col. Trin. Soc.

SAlveto nostræ instauratrix magna salutis:
Quàm tibi chara fuit libertas publica, testis
Lenta quidem, sed edax (heu!) tabes: filia testis
Auriacum vecta amissæ pretium ipsa salutis.
Reginæ morbo, discessu Principis hostes
Sic solùm mala sanari potuisse, juvabat.
Nil tamen, ô reges, nil gens exosa potestis.
Ecce *Maria* redit, dolet hoc? magis ergo dolebit,
Ecce redit sana, at nec dum modus esto dolori.
Ecce redit victrix. Quid jam? quid profuit ingens
(Cum *Carolina*, Ingens Invictaq;) Classis? in unam
Naviculam nil mille rates potuere: rubescas
Nauta; ipsæ naves dominam agnovere *Mariam*,
Inq; illam irruere exhorrebat regia Classis.
An verò solet in terrâ fælicior esse
Impietas? quid rapta valent regni arma? quid urbes

Aggeribus fortes, resonantia fulmine castra,
Inq; suam, haud nostram, plebs affociata' ruinam:
En nova bellorum Dea solo nomine vincit.
Non ad spectandam sat fortis conscia turba.
Pone Minervalem cultum, galeam, ægida, telum,
Pone *Maria*: satis bellatum. *Carolus* ipse
Inuidet, & queritur sibi non superesse sat amplam
Laudum materiam. Has iras mulcere studebis?
Pone sinu niveo, calido tamen, oscula fige,
Oscula vel numero sine. Quin fremat usq; Senatus,
Insimulet, votis damnet, quòd prole beâsti
Et multâ & magnâ *Britonas*, quæ regna gubernet
Ingentis *Caroli* (Numen quum fiet) & omnem
Spem populo effræni tollat. Sic perge mereri
Prodentis nomen: pensa fælicitèr annos
Te steriles absente redux, numerumq; tuorum
Imple, qui *Caroli* ad dextram longè auctior ire
Debuerat: Benè sed cautum ne grata Britannos
Nunc minus invisas, multis fæcunda trophæis.
Fœmineas superat Mavortia gloria laudes.

THO. SNELLING *M. A. Ioan.*

INdomitum (Regina) Tui celebramus amoris
Ardorem; meminisse juvat, quàm prodiga vultûs
Infectum ruis in thalamum, visisq; maritum,
Quem lecto affixit deformis purpura Morbi;
Iam per quot casus, per quot discrimina rerum
Augusti gratos amplexus conjugis ambis?
Per mare, per nimbos, perq; æthera turbidum & ignes;
Armatasq;

Armataſq; manus, frendentiaq; ora revertis
Ad *Carolum*; te nulli horrens miſcere periclo,
Inter tam dubios populo inſurgente tumultus
Temperie immotæ mentis *Maria* triumphat.

IOH. BANKS *filius nat. max.* IOH. BANKES *Equitis Aurati & Regiæ Majeſtati à Secret. Conſiliis. Commenſalis Coll. Oriel.*

AD terras Aſtræa redit, vultuq; benigno
Inviſit Britonas, pertæſam Numina gentem:
Quam procul hinc cogi ventorum immanior irâ
Impietas voluit; dúmq; omnes undiq; fluctûs
Componit Furias *Nereus*, placidamq; quietem
Indulget *Pelago*, quò poſſit tuta per undas
Devecta, optatas tandem pertingere ad oras,
Inſanus fremuit Populus, monſtroſa Gigantum
Proles, atq; audet cœlis indicere Bellum.
Non tamen Illa fugit; ſed quantò ſæviùs hoſtis
Intonuit, tantò viguit conſtantior Illa.
Non aliter ventis Idâ *Jovis* arbor in altâ
Conſolidare pedem ſolita eſt: ſic preſſa relurgunt
Virgulta, & contra pondus nituntur inane.
Armatura erat ipſa ſibi, ſe præſide tuta,
Devovet hos armis, atq; hos virtute ſubegit.
At quid Cæſareum juvat uſq; fitire cruorem?
Nam *Kimboltonida* & CAROLUM petiiſtis, & acrem
Pugnam intentâſtis Regi; quis crederet unquam
Hoc Britonas voluiſſe nefas? non durus Iberus,
Non plus Imperii impatiens auderet Iërna.
Huc tandem ceſſit pietas? En Cæſaris armis

Iu *Carolum* pugnaſſe juvat: mirâq; medelâ
Vulneribus Regis jactant ſanâſſe Coronam:
Talia non edit Thebanum ænigmata monſtrum.
Quam dolet illuſum miſere vidiſſe popellum
Armare invitam dextram? nimióq; furore
Lymphatum, cædem, propriamq; ambire ruinam.
Cùm poſſit ſceptrum, ferrum gladiumq; poposcit,
Impietas tantum; tantum mendacia poſſunt.
Aſt Aſtræa redit, radiiſq; induta coruſcis
Diſpellit tenebras animo; dextrâq; Coronam
Suſtentat *Caroli*: videas & victa fugatur
Pympleidarum inſana cohors, atq; undiq; lætis
Regnanti *Carolo* applaudit victoria pennis.
Sic quando nitidum plauſtrum conſcendit, & orbi
Immerſo tenebris, radiantes dividit ignes
Phœbus, decedunt nubes; claroq; ſolutus
Igne vapor, reddit primævæ gaudia lucis.

P. M. *Ioan. Soc.*

CVi modo Plumbũ Ingens, & cui priùs Ipſa peper-
Tempeſtas, Oculo hanc jam propiore lego. (cit
Tuta per Oceanum rediens & tuta per Hoſtes,
Sic Pignus Noſtræ, Diva, Salutis ades.
Summorum Curam quis Te negeteſſe Deorum
Cui Flammæ Mites, mitis & unda fuit?
Naturæ Natura velit miracula ſalva,
Et ſervat Gemmas cautior unda ſuas;
Regnorum Regina Trium celeberrima, ſalvam
Fratribus ex Trinis Te voluere duo:

Tu

Tu, Neptune, ab Aquis, à Fulmine *Iupiter*; ergò,
Perdere qui vellet, jam patet unde venit.

GULIELM. CURLL *Episc. Winton.*
filius unicus è Coll. Mag.

IAm sinus tandem *Caroli* Redimple:
Jam Tuo tandem *Carolo* potire.
Debitos Cœlos referas Marito,
Accipiasq;.

Transcietis vastas reputes Arenas,
Quot Fretum radat, totidem Maritus
Clepsydram credit, peregre morante
Te, numerásse.

Tamdiu Pictæ fuerat *Mariæ*
Sponsus, Ornavit Thalamos Imago
Sola, Conjux Pygmalionis instar
Vovit Amores.

Nuptias intres *Caroli* secundas,
Brachiis dudum *Caroli* sequestra,
Tristior lecti Genialis exul,
Pænéq; virgo.

Cinera bellantûm gladiis reverte,
Muniat gressum globus, ut paratæ
Copiæ quondam facilem per Alpes
Scindere Callem.

Sentiat

Sentiat Conjux *Aliam* Maritam,
Sentiat Conjux *Alium* Maritum,
Sentiat fælix sed uterq; flammam
Semper eandem.

THO. SEVERN *ex Æde Ch. A. B.*

SAt sat triumphi, sat *Palatini* Duces
Agitâre turmas hostium;
Sat victimarum: sat rebellium cruor
Pacavit aras numinum.
Regina tuta est, præda quamvis hostibus
Devota dudum perditis,
Regina salve, tuta, scloporum licet
Pilis petita nubilis,
Petita tantùm; quippe sulphu r Pallada
Violare non novit suam.
Bellona nempè es Diiq; famulantur tibi
Caroli satellites tui,
Qui corda premere civium nôrunt globis
Tumultuosa plumbeis.
His tuta Reges territes novos, novam
Iam jam petentes Angliam.

G. HARDINO.

EN nova Deiparo prodit é Ponto dea,
Aut Numen aliud fulmine excutitur *Iovi*!
Ortúmq; Mundo prædicant Hostes, quibus
Opprimere tentant machinis. En nunc Typum

Ven-

Venerem *Mariæ*, surgit hæc etiam Mari,
Nec non salutem Publicæ Navi facit:
Quam *Carolo* nunc reddita aspectu beat,
Quali nec *Helice* ratibus Argolicis præit.
Quæ Galliam olim, Belgium nuper, modo
Ipsos ut Anglos Anglicis jungat redit;
Orbe atq; sese dissitos unir, parum est,
Carolo Mariam conjugat rursus suo:
Et Vnionem publicis Cimeliis
Præstantiorem Principi sese refert,
Priore amorem ventilans distantiâ.
Sic Lapide tinctæ Tractili, quantò magis
Erant remotæ, fortiùs coeunt Acus.
Oppositâ Soli Luna Conjunctissima est,
Quamvisq; Matres Viperæ lacerent suas
Alterius Orbis Incolis Superi favent.

HEN. OSBASTON A. B. *Ioan.*

FVnde Puer: Modicos Succos, Cyathūq; ministra
Littore non vasto cinctum, Calicemq; minoris
Lætitiæ, qualem regelati sumere Patres
Assuescunt, vino non cùm lætantur inempto,
Prospera Mauritii frænatus signa Rebellis
Sentiet, Occiduus sensu meliore futurus,
Viramus Socii. Successum funde Secundum
Impiger, hîc alios *Calices*, *Hispania* quales
Lætior exsiccat; (non quintâ Luce Novembris)
Spargitur Arctous, vel sparsis invidet hostis,
Sortitus seram per Vota atq; Arma Catenam:

Sed redit haud ſemper diſtans Regina, reverſa
Ad Tedas propè jam Primas, & Flammea Prima,
Funde nihil. Dubitas? totos hûc ſiſte Trientes
Arguimus triſtes qui tantum Pocula ſiccant,
Iam dulce eſt gaudere Cadis, *Maria* propinquat
Conſiliis Armiſq; potens, & utraq; *Minervâ*,
Nec Calamos urget ſolitos numeroſq; Togarum
Proſpera jam Mater tantùm, aut Nutricibus Alma,
Sed remeat Ductrix, traditq; è Caſſide juſſa,
Iam Martis *Gradiva* ſui, Chalybiſq; revincta
Nexibus, & magni Reſeranda ad baſia Regis;
Milite nunc Prægnans, per ſingula ſtamina quondam
Per Populos nunc Diva parit, fœcunda Cohortum,
Doctaq; de Thalamo ſolium defendere Natis
Viribus, expandit contractum in Principe Robur;
Sic *Bibulam* ridet *Molem*, *Plenamq́*, *Rebellem*
Deſpicit, ingenui metuentem prælia Campi,
Pugnacis ſtomachi, ſolumq; ad Fercula Fortem,
Nocte virum, nec nocte virum; tituliſq; duobus
Matribus inviſum: nec jam Commercia Pennæ
Regales miſcent Animos, aut Charta ſuſurrat,
Non cæſo veniunt Exploratore Tabellæ,
Nec prius, ut *tradatur*, oportet Epiſtola *Vincat.*
Succeſſus *Caroli* (nec Fama Authore) noteſcent,
Sic bis ſucceſſus (namq; Auri forte remotæ
Credentiq;, fugas nuper *Chalgravia* noſtras
Vidit, & obſcurus nondum non militat *Hampden*)
Ergò veni tandem victrix, tardata precantis
Londini genubus fruſtrà, votoq; frequente,
Cujus in *Eboraci* ſpatiis divortia Præco

Sanctus

Sanctus ad invisas oraret Civicus Aras,
Sacratos coleret Ritus, & pænè Taceret
Vt *Carolus* jam speraret, Viduusq; maneret!
Nunc meliore venis Titulo, Thalamisq; relictis
Iam Campi Consors, ejusdem Cespitis uxor,
Plus Conjux extra Lectum, dum fortior Vnam
Calfacias Glebam, Castris immista Mariti
Et similes simili patiaris Pectore noctes.

Ios. Howe *Trin. Coll.*

Χήρη ἔην ἡ κοιρανίη· χαρὰ οἱ πάλιν ἦλθε,
Σῶον σῶα βλέπει Κάρολον ἡ Μαρία.
Μοῦσαι καὶ Χάριτες πάριτε, ξυντ' ἄδετε ἄμμι,
Πανταχοῦ ἠχρέτω γῆθος ἐν Ὀξονίῳ.

Edw. Silvester S. T. B.
E. Coll. de Bal.

SVi loquacem Fama sexûs buccinam,
Et ora mille mille linguas adferat;
Quibus Camillas dicit, & Zenobias,
Et Bunduicam, nobilem foris metum,
Domiq; fulcrum: Fæminamq; Ponticam,
Columen mariti bellicum, & solatium.
Modestiusq; jactet Artemisiam,
Sui sepulchrum conjugis nec mortuum.
Sero at resurgit postumum præconium.
Efferte cives Regis invicti decus,
Reducem Tumultu pompa Reginam vehat,

Quanto Rebellis intonat mendacia
Pœnisq; regni fruitur, & vulgi malis.
Iam gratulari vel periculis libet
Minisq; Cœli: dulcis in portu est labor
Narrare quantus hauserit vortex ratem;
Furentis instat Vulgi ut arserint aquæ;
Vt fluctuarit muta; cum digitis Styga
Tribus propinquam quatuorve palluit.
Sortis futuræ gestientis pignora,
Sortis deinde prosperæ præludia.
Hæc succinentem ad fana te accipiet Deus.
At magna Cœli cura; fortunæ timor,
Quæ gesta latè sunt loquentur posteri.
Vt tu lacernas imbrè Sarrano graves,
Circumq; picti syrma luxurians pepli,
Corymbum, inaures, lunulas, mundi æthera
Læta abdicares; ut careres principe
Rex ne indigeret, Fœnus est Regi dare:
Delato honore crescimus. Phœbo Soror
Sic vacua reddit menstruo amplexu faces,
Et mox receptum melior ostendit jubar.
Parum est reverti. Damna vicisti fera
Omni labore major: ut scandas polum
Telluris ima perfodis: magno stetit
Regno potiri: tradere aut pacem tuis,
Regno salutem: ne opprimat leges timor,
Sit jus in armis; & perire nos vetes.
Ne templa posthac miles infestus premat,
Limenq; Sacrum terror Armorum ambiat.

Ioh. Beesley A.M.N.C. *Socius.*

Siste

SIste gradum Regina! rates, atq; æquora, semper
Æquora fida Tibi fugies?
Quid tanti meruit Pontus, quid flumina tanti,
Vt rapias Te hinc ad Scopulos?
Ecce Acies q; Duces q; & sævi militis ora.
Naufragium est quodcunq; vides.
Cùm quà Terra patet, Populus sit ubiq; rebellis,
Cùm Populus sit ubiq; Tuus.
Dà leges Regina mari, da jura Procellis.
Tempestas tibi Civis erit.

M. Lewellin *ex Æde Ch.*
A. M.

AN querar? an potius ferias in carmine præstem?
Anceps enervat gaudia nostra Tremor. (das,
Namq; animus meminisse horret, quas, Diva, per un-
Quas, Tu, per Terras jam spatiata redis.
Ah pereat quicunq; fuit, qui Pignora nostræ
Fortunæ infidis tantâ remisit Aquis.
Qui reducem in propriâ, per tanta Pericula terrâ,
Per medios Hostes carpere fecit iter.
Et ni forte vetet Crux hîc præsentior, erret
Partibus ignotis, perditus, exul, inops.
Latonam haud aliter veteres sprevere Coloni,
Æstivam passa est cùm peregrina sitim.
Naturæ Censum, furor huic secluserat undam
Rusticus; huic proprium Barbara Turba solum.
Barbaries tamen illa minor, quæ sæva repulsam
Non intellecto Numine fecit, erat.

Noſtrates Scythici magno molimine ſudant,
Vt mage conſultâ ſint feritate rei.
Ignoſcas Magnum Decus atq; Infamia ſecli;
Te Tua dum Virtus, Crimina noſtra canent.

G. Littleton ex Ædc Ch. Alum.

IMportuna nimis feroxq; Muſa,
Pronam ſiſtito gratulationem?
Aulam tempore non tuo laceſſis.
Vix vidit *Carolum* ſuum *Maria*,
Contendiſq; videretu *Mariam*?
Non eſt Illa ſuam oſculata prolem,
Obtrudiſq; tuum moleſta Carmen?
Vel mutire tibi, ſcelus nefaſq;,
Donec finierit *Maria* voces:
Donec Pignoribus viroq; mira
Longæ Geſta viæ referre deſît.
O quàm Rex inhiat ſacræ loquelæ!
Narrantis roſeoq; ab ore pendet!
Auſcultat pavitans tremenſq;, quanta
Regina & quoties tulit perîcla.
Ridens deinde rogat, quibus tot Arma
Nummoſq; artibus ipſa comparavit.
Geſtit ſcire etiam, labore quali
Tandem ſalva domum Reduxq; venit.
Nec ſat ſcire juvat novare rurſus
Rurſuſq; hiſtoriam; ſonatq; dulce,
Olim quod fuerat ſubire durum.
Hæc & plurima quando *Carolinæ*

Vxor

Vxor sat fuerit locuta in aures,
Tunc hora est tua, Musa; tunc Maria;
Fas est, fundito gratulationem;
Dignam Principe gratulationem;
Tali Principe gratulationem.

W. B. è Coll. Wadh.

CÆsarei Consors lecti, Consorsq; periculi,
O quantâ implesti fœdus utrumq; fide!
Vnus Amor, partes unæ, Lex una Laborum
Tunc domi fueras? an fuit Ille foris?
Vna lubens dicam manet & discordia vobis,
Quòd Tu fata times Illius, Ille Tua.
Hos tamen inventa est Mala gens quæ damnet Amores,
Proh scelus! infido tempore fida manes.
Ingrati pudet heu sæcli infamisq; Senatûs,
Hoc pretium pietas officiosa feret?
O Rea Virtutum! poli memorare, precamur,
Quantilla exieras, aspice quanta redis.

Rob. Meade ex Æd. Ch. A. M.

O' Dea (junctarum Sola es nisi turba' Dearum,
Nave Thetis, clypeo Pallas, & ore Venus,)
Nostris Celsa vadis dominabere, & Isidos undis,
Accenset Nymphis te mea Musa Tuis.
Victrix Facieq;, Viróq;, Armisq;, Tridentem,
In Tua confluxit térq; trophæa Mare:

Scalabit

Sedabit paritèr Rectrix Tua Concha Popellum,
Ibit in imperium fluctus & ille Tuum:
Quod malè ſperabat *Cleopatra*, facillima præſtes,
Serica Dux poteris Hoc ſuperare fretum:
Nempè Tui emigrant Armamentaria Fœtus:
Quæ ſolet Infantes, Arma, Virosq; parit.
Non Latere excocto, ſorti nos Milite cingis,
Arte Semiramiâ, nobiliórq; Tua eſt.
In Tumulo nèc amas, removes Monumenta Mariti,
Conjuge Mauſoli, Major, Amore redis.
Eſto, Alias Vxor *Caroli* ſupereminet: Illa
Regnis leges, Regibus Ille dabit.

Ioh. Barbr ex Æde Ch.

INtres vota Togæ, melioris vota Popelli.
Des expectatum, des veneranda, Iubar.
Quam verè Numen præfers utriuſq; *Minervæ*!
Haſta, *Maria*, Tua eſt, eſt & Oliva Tua.
Quantillum fuerat duras ſentire procellas,
Noſtrum olim cum Te per mare duxit Amor!
Par Animo tandem nacta es diſcrimen, at inde
Pulchrior evicto Diva labore redis.
O quantum *Henricus* pater iſto in pectore vivit!
O quantum *Caroli* Martia flamma Tui!
Quod non Legati, quod non potuere Miniſtri,
Præſtitit hoc Conjux, *Carole*, ſola Tibi.
Arma velim ſileant Belgæ ſua, ſcire recuſo
Quid retulit; *Batavis* plura *Maria* dedit.

Tho. Cartwright ex Æde Ch.

MADAM.

WHilest Orpheus *toucht his Harpe, We read*
Woods and Trees did Measures tread;
And their stubborne rootes, like feet,
Did in Dance and Numbers meet.
Tigers *too, and* Panthers *wilde,*
Lost their fiercenesse, and grew milde.
And the savage Multitude
Of People were no longer rude.
But when once he cea'st to play,
Hearers did become a Fraye,
And no longer swayd by charmes,
Knew nought Civill but their Armes.
Ayres, we read too, and soft layes,
Heretofore did Citties *raise.*
When a gentle close did meet,
Straightway started up a Street;
And like Creatures of the String
From each stroke did Temples spring.
What Musick did doe heretofore,
Your Beauty *did doe, and much more.*
Before you went, from your faire Look
Our Saluages their mildnesse tooke.
Wolves, and Beares, *and beasts of prey,*
With the Lambe, and Kidde did play.
From your charming Face, and smile,
Sprung a soft Peace to this Isle.
And whilest you mov'd in our Sphere
We an order'd Kingdome were.
But once parted from us, We

Having loſt the Harmonye,
Which combined us in one knot,
Concord, Rule, and Lawes forgot,
Every Thing did looſe its Name,
A People a wild Rout became.
Nothing did with Thing agree;
Once more we did Chaos ſee.
The baſe under Element
Did invade the Firmament;
And thoſe parts which loweſt lye
Striv'd to change place with the skye.
The dull Earth did ſtrive to runn
Equall courſes with the Sun,
And would teach us to count Dayes,
By its Shade, not by His Rayes.
O once more Your Powers diſplay;
Smile theſe broyles, and Iarres away.
Every Look which You reveale,
Will compoſe our Common weale.
And Your bright Eyes will create
Once more a well orderd State.
From Your Returne, Lawes will obtaine
Their Force, and be once Lawes againe.
And where You Your Beames diſplay
'Twill be pleaſure to Obey.
And our Bodyes, which before
The Style of Subjects only Wore,
Henceforth will but one halfe be
Of their Princes Soveraignty.
You'l enlarge His Realmes, and find

A grea-

A greater Empire in each mind.
And His other Titles fill
With His Peoples Hearts, *and Will.*
When it ſhall be ſaid in ſtorye
You made theſe his Territory.
And now if I my verſe could turne
To Gums which might on Altars burne,
In ſteed of Poem Cloudes ſhould riſe
To Heaven in bright Sacrifice;
Which hath Returned You home to us
By Dangers made more pretious.
As Things put on new price and coſt,
When moſt in perill to be loſt.
Or as He, who his Iewell threw
Into the Sea, *received it new,*
When next recover'd, and the Wave
Enricht Him *twice, which did it ſave.*
Or as bright Pearles, although we ſee
That in Themſelves they Orient be,
Show yet more Orient, and doe
More ſtrike the ſight, cauſe div'd for too.
We doe receive you back as Treaſure,
Which th' Owners doe by Tempeſts meaſure.
Or as the longing Merchant prizes
By th' VVracks they ſcape his Merchandizes.
For though the Halcyon *waves did ſeeme,*
VVhen You ſayled on their brow, to teeme,
And beare a ſecond Venus, *and*
Tranſport You in ſoft calmes to Land.
Yet count our feares, and You are ſeene

Return'd thus to us, twice our Queene.

I. Mayne. S. T. B. of Chr. Ch.

GO Burne ſome Rebell Towne; for ſuch alone
Are Bonfires ſuiting to the loyes we owne.
And bid the falling Aſhes ſprinkled lye
On Traitors heads; Let them Repent and Dye:
We have receiv'd the Queene! in her the Fate
Of Better Dayes, and Moment of the State.
That State, which 'twixt two Hands does Bleeding ly,
The Hand of Murther and of Chirurgie,
(While this Cuts off Bad limbes, and that the Sound,
Till there be ſcarce a Body to be found)
Now gathers breath againe, and hopes to Live,
Not by what ſtrength it hath, but what Shee'l give.
So when Aſtræa ſhall come back to Earth,
The ruin'd World expects another Birth.
And this diſord'red Frame lookes to Inherit
Forme from her Beauty, Vigor from her Spirit.
And as, when ſome Almighty Salue is mean't,
Each Country ſends in an Ingredient
To the Compoſure, and a man doth owe
His health to Places that he ne're ſhall know;
See from what Forraigne Climates ſhe hath brought
The Soveraigne Balme by which this Cure is wrought!
As if at firſt ſhe had been Voted hence
Not by a Malice but a Providence;
And ſpent thoſe ſixteene Moneths abroad, as One
That was not Travail'd but a ſimpling gone.
Now ſince, Great Queene, your Vertues have out-ſtood

Our

Our Malice; and in spight of Vs done's Good,
Shine forth with Doubled Light, that Rebells may
Or Sleep in Darknes, or else See 'tis Day:
And Treason stoop, forc't by commanding Charmes
Either to Kisse your Hands, or Feare your Armes.

W. Barker. S. T. B. Nov. Coll. Soc.

(were,
VVHen first to th' Winds and Waves you trusted
How our Sighes helpt You hence, yet wisht You
Our Feares still ey'd the Barko; We could not know, (here!
(And therefore feared) were you safe or no;
Had not those Pledges brought us newes of You,
The Armes, the Mony, and the Princes too,
Here we had lost the Sight, and given You ore,
Th' eternall Blemish both of Seas, and Shore.
Well, You were Landed; our next thoughts conspire
With no lesse anguish how You may retire,
We found, yet wish't You Here; We thought You too
More safe Abroad, yet griev'd that You were so.
Ill thrive their Plots who made these Riddles good,
Who made Spoyle Law, Law to be understood.
A Breach of who knowes what; while we perplext
Wonder'd the Comment should expunge the Text.
Here (but that Rayling cannot please Your Eares)
We could recount new Stormes, Iealousies, Feares,
Malignant Humors, *many a dangerous Plot,*
Such as some made t' affright, yet feared not.
The Fields oreflow'd with Blood as a Spring tyde,
But still the Purest ran o'the Kings *side.*

Witneſſe Northampton, Lindſey, Stuart, *Names*
That by their Riſe and Fall have double Fames.
Names that will Chronicle their VVriters, ſuch
As we can neither Praiſe nor Mourne too much.
VVhile th' adverſe Channell, which by them was ſpilt,
Ran doubly fowle, with Baſeneſſe, and with Guilt.
Shame o'their Country, who would e're have thought
That beyond Treaſon they could ſtart a fault.
But former Crimes were ſilenc't by one New,
This their grand Maſterpeece, their Plot on You.
Nature nor Law could check their Villanie,
(Vnmanly Rebells) Sex nor Majeſtie.
Here our Iuſt Paſſion wants a Name, to call
It Anger, Hate, or Rage, were ſleight, 'twas All.
I dare not ſtay too long upon't, for feare
It Cloud our Ioyes, which undiſturb'd, and cleare
Should now breake forth All Day; and boldly ſhew
Onely our more endeered Thankes for You.
You our whole Ioy, our Peace, our Victorie,
You the Grand Bleſſing of the Deitie.
Comethen, and tell our King *the VVarres are done,*
Your ſafe Approach confirmes the Day his owne.
Tell him his Peace, his Crowne, *Himſelfe You bring*
Such Newes a King ſhould heare, ſuch Angells ſing.

R. Meade. Ch. Ch. A. M.

NEptune *no ſooner had his Trident ſhook,*
And th' Ocean into Calm Allegiance ſtrook,
But She being Landed ſafe, the Earth doth ſhow
Another

Another Sea to Her *Vndanted Brow.*
Here all things Claſh *and Stagger, Townes, and Men,*
Iuſt like Her VVaves, break, and are broke agen.
The Earth is Torne with Motion, like the Maine,
And Malice acts what fancy ſcarce could feigne.
Her Voyage paſt, She's not yet wafted o're,
For all is Sea, *nor ha's the Sea a ſhore.*
Ayde Vs Apollo *then; This Iſland more*
Floates now, then Thy owne Delos *did before.*
And, here to ſhape Her Spirit in full Dreſſe,
How ſhee Paſs't through and Puniſht the whole Preaſe
Of condemn'd Rebells; how Her lookes did Awe
Th' affrighted Things, as they themſelves fright Law;
How they, Impriſon'd in their Armes did Dye
Only as Try'd and Caſt, by Majeſty;
How her Selfe great ſtill, and Vnmoov'd, but where
She griev'd, 'cauſe ſtiffe Fate could not let her ſpare;
How her Diſpatch was Conqueſt, *in few dayes*
To' Adorne the King with a new Crowne *of Bayes;*
To mixe theſe in a Pure Iuſt Straine, would be
A Taske fit for a Second Deity.
VVhen theſe Acts into Annalls ſhall be throwne,
Vertue will ſigh, and wiſh they were Her owne.

WILL. TOWERS *of* Ch. Ch. A.M.

WHen we remember thoſe affronts that drew
You from us firſt, and after followed You.
What Malice did Contrive, or bring about
To ſtaine Your Honour, or content the Rout.

VVee

VVee wonder at Your mercy, to ſuſteyne
So farre thoſe wrongs as to returne againe
Vnto a place, where baſe Rebellion ſtands
Bolſterd with Lyes, and Tumults, where commands
And Awe of Power and Right are all throwne downe,
Forerunning one great Sacrifice, the Crowne.
Nor ſtaies Rebellion there, but on does goe,
It has His Goods, whoſe Blood it would have too,
Let Edge-hill *witneſſe that, and alwayes be*
Next to Your Burlington, *in hiſtory*
Delivered unto each ſucceeding age,
A monument o'th Rebells bloody rage.
But ſince You pardon all, and doe impute,
Not to the Kingdome, what was done by th' Rout,
Returne moſt happy Princeſſe, *Let that Joy*
That firſt receiv'd You Queene, *find no alloy*
In this Your Second Comming, but abide
Encreaſing in a full, and vigorous Tide.
For when we heretofore had hither brought,
As in the Argo, *that ſo happy Fraught*
Of Lillies, out of France, *Our Hopes did there*
Speake You to VS, now Knowledge doth endeare,
And Dangers too, which may they all be ſent
To fill up that great weight of our Content.
Give up then, Neighbour Hollander, *that Prize,*
So farre about thy richeſt Merchandize,
Contented with the royall Stem ſtand,
Nor graffe the Plant it ſelf with bolder hand.
Returne our Lillies, we will aske no more,
Nor envie thee the Indies *in thy ſtore.*

IOHN FELL M. of Arts of Ch. Ch.

NOw let them Vote, Declare, Contrive
How many Lords They'l ſave alive,
Let them give Thankes, Lye, Faſt, and Vow,
Make a New Seale, New-England *too,*
Here's That will ſtop their wild Career,
The KING, QUEENE, PRINCE, *and* DUKE *are here.*

Nay 'tis the QUEENE, *ſee how that Word*
Hath ſhak'd the dark Committee Board!
Blaſted the Houſe, where now All are
As mute as He that ſits ith' Chayre!
Their Feares *exceed their* Iealouſies
And all things but their Guilt outvies.

But though this Great Beſt Paire are met,
They'l vote The Queene's *not Landed yet,*
She's ſtill in Holland *th' Houſes ſweare,*
'Cauſe ſtill They feele *She hath been there;*
*But ſee, She * met Him yeſterday* * Edgehill.
Where their twelve Thouſand durſt not ſtay.

Thou Honour'd Mount, She grat'd thee more
Then all thy Blood and Spoyle before!
'Twas Conqueſt then, 'tis Triumph now,
(For which the Beaſt muſt bleed and bow,)
Angells look'd downe and lik'd it well,
All but the Lower Houſe *and* Hell.

When once the Members *ſhrunk to* foure,
When Hopton *brought his* Corniſh *o're,*
When as Eternall Grenvill *ſtood*
And ſtopt the gap up with his blood,
When their ſlye Conqu'rour *durſt not ſtand,*
We knew the Queene *was nigh at hand.*

When Great Newcaſtle *ſo drew forth*
As in Nine dayes purg'd all the North,
When Fairfax *vaſt perfidious force*
VVas turn'd to five Inviſible Horſe,
VVhen none but's Lady ſtaid to fight,
VVe knew the QUEENE *was come in ſight.*

But when Carnarvon *(who ſtill hit*
VVith his keen blade and keener wit)
Stout Craford, Wilmot, Byron, *who*
Strook yeſterday's Great Glorious blow,
VVhen Waller *could but bleed and fret,*
Then, then the Sacred Couple met.

Now let them vote this dangerous thing
That MARY *lov'd Her Lord the* KING,
That Hee's the Husband, She the VVife,
That She ſeduc'd Him t'o ſave His Life.
She liv'd a forraigne QUEENE *two yeares,*
But next Sea-voyage ſhall be Theirs.

IO. BERKENHEAD.
Coll. Om. An. Socius.

OVr Muſes are return'd (Great Queen) with You,
Your Travails give them Breath and Motion too;
Since Your departure they were ſilent all,
Or weeping Dirges for their funerall;
The Head was aym'd at ſo, who could but feare
The ruine of the Kingdomes Breaſts was neare?
Nay One is ſquees'd ſo by a viperous crew,
No Aganippe thence can flow to You.
And had not Charles His moſt auſpicious Beames
Kept off the Zelots from our hallowed Streames,
Wee'd had no waters, but what's in our eye,
And ſo had Siſters been in Miſery.
Yet that we are, and that w' are Vocall too
We muſt confeſſe the Debt alike to You;
Great Feares entranc'd, and Sorrowes made us lye
All Mute, as caſt into an Extaſie:
By Your Returne w' are freed, all theſe are o're,
Our Feares are farre the leſſe, our Ioyes the more.

THO: LAMPLUGH. A. M. Coll. Reg.

AMour & Ioye du Ciel, vainquereſſe d' Enfer,
Et (s'il en fuſt jamais deſſus la Terre)
Miroir des Roynes, les Muſes comptent ce le Iour
Non ſeul de voſtre mais de leur retour.
Car il nous ſembloit que par la meſme rage
Nous ſouffrions avec Vous vne Pelerinage.
Nul flot qui Vous a frappé la Navire
Que nous 'n affligeoit point, ou certes un pire.
Les Canons en feu d' Enfer allumés,

(*Non tant de* Bales *que d'* Haine *tout eſtoffés*)
Qu'on niveloit vers vous meſme, nous feirent trembler
Les cœurs enſemble, & faire mauvaiſe chere.
Mais quel Eſprit Vous pouſſe ſemence barbare
D'un Leſtrygon, *un* Scythe, *ou un* Tartare,
Non pas les fils de Bretagne? *hors du ſens,*
Helas! voulez vous meurtrir l'Innocence?
Aſſaſſiner la vertu? mais qui ſerre
Et laſche la bride aux meſchants de la Terre
Comme il luy plaiſe, ores, Madame, *vous a mis*
Loin par deſſus leur cruel artifice,
Et vous, l'eſpere, (encore qu'il ſe tourne ronde)
*Reſerve pour faire l'*Epitaphe *du Monde.*

ANAGR.

HEnriette Marie Roine d' Angle-Terre.
Ange en Terre, Ie tien armé le Droit.

Reculez vous fils de Noirceur, voila vn Ange,
Qui vous eſtonnera par ſa lumiere eſtrange.
L' aſſailliez vous encore? voila des Armes,
Abris de Droit, *maulgré d' Enfer les charmes.*

T. Tullius. A. M. Coll. Reg.

Till with Your ſelfe, Peace left this Land,
Growne more tempeſtuous then our Seas;
No man the Court did underſtand,
Who lov'd the King moſt, or his foes:
Traitour, and Subject undiſtinguiſht ſtood,
Since 'twas all one to ſeeme, and to be good.

Thus till th' Alembeck diſunites
Natures, which diſcord makes agree,
None can ſpye th' Elementall mites,
Hid in a numerous Vnitie:
Fowre bodies being ſo wrapt up together,
That every part at once is all, and neither.

You by your Abſence made us know,
And by Returne our foes ſuppreſſe:
To whom whilſt we our ſafeties owe,
The Bleſſing's more, but wonder leſſe;
Such Bounty is no Miracle from You,
Gods eaſier can create, then Men undoe.

Where Valour does with Beauty meet,
They needs muſt Conquer, or compoſe:
The Riddle of the ſtrong and ſweet,
Is Mary's Lyon, and the Roſe,
In whom with Mars, Venus keeps mutuall ame,
Making the ſword rule milder then the Law.

Welcome to dangers, to Alarms,
(Beſt Muſick to your Epicæne ſenſe,)
And to Your Conſort lockt in Armes,

Impriſon'd in His owne defence:
Thus Semele *wiſht to greet her* Iove *of old,*
Rather in Thunder courting, then in Gold.

Your Looks muſt calme theſe Rivalls here,
That only hate, whom Charles *doth grace;*
Your courage tame thoſe Rebells there,
Who riſe for want of wit, or place:
That ſo our State by ſhaking fixt more ſure,
Iarres may unite us, and diſtempers cure.

H. Berkhed. O.A.

FAll back you ſonnes of Treaſon, Spawne of Night,
(Who bold, but vainly have advanc'd a Might
'Gainſt heavenly Pow'rs) be chas'd like miſts away,
Diſpers'd before Her Majesties *Array.*
Shee's come. How could the Land but ſoone obey?
The Seas, and wind had taught to give her way:
Though Pluto, *and th' uſurping* Neptune *ſtrove*
Againſt thy paſſage, Mary *thou hadſt* Iove.
No Feares nor Iealouſies can ever prove
Offenſive, or Defenſive againſt Love.
Learnd'ſt thou from Love (beſt Lady of Delight)
To wound thine Enemies by Parthian *ſleight:*
And ſuch a Fatall blow by Flight to ſtrike?
The Ramme (though taught enough) can't doe the like.
What is thy March, if ſuch be thy Retreat:
In this thou didſt Arme us, in that Defeat
Their forces; There thy Charles *Artillery;*

Here

Here Eagle-wayes thy Victories doe Fly.
The Weſt, and North is talk'd in every Mouth,
We muſt ſalute Thee now the Queene o'th South;
And worthily, for Thou a farre haſt gone,
To find the honour of Thy Solomon.
And Thou ſhalt find it ſure, though they Repent,
Who ſaid they'd make Him, what they never meant.

E. Gayton. Ioann: Ar. Mag.

WEE are not taken yet, nor (as we ſee)
Are like to be, Great Queen, *unleſſe by Thee.*
Yet you will find (the World hath been ſo toſt)
The Muſick of our Academy loſt.
For ſince the State in Civill Warres hath burn'd
Our ſilken Hoods have all to Scarfes been turn'd.
'Mongſt us there's ſcarce a verſe, nay line, without
Charge to the Front, to th' Reere, and Face about.
This Metamorphoſis is ſtrange, but we
Embrace it, as we would our Liberty
Extorted from us by thoſe hands, that ſteale
(If you'l beleeve 'em) for the Common-weale.
So Epidemicall are their ills, that Art
It ſelfe hath ſuffer'd more then th' Twentieth Part:
But we have long forgave them, ſince we knew
A greater part to be detain'd by you,
Your Preſence, Mighty Queene, *which ſince we here*
Enjoy with intereſt wee'le banniſh feare;
And by your Armie's helpe wee'le propheçye
The ruine of all fraud and trecherie.

And greet the new Kings bravely, that they may
Make one thanksgiving more, and run away.

WILL. HARDING. Ioan.

Thyrsis. Melibæus.

Thyr. *PAn Bleſſe us, Lovel: Silenc't Thy Pipe,*
What ſullen Cheeked, and powting Ripe?
Ah me; I wot in yonder ſhade
Laſt night was better Muſick made.

Melib. *Ah Soule, Laſt night ſhut up for aye*
(I feare) the ſhepheards Holy-day,
Pray Heavens ere while We doe not ſee
The Flocks give o're their jollity:
The Ewes their luſtyhead forget,
And tender lambes not dare to bleat.
For on yon Hills, O woe to ſee
Diſtraught ſheep hither, thither flee,
Torne (poor things!) and worried ſo,
The skilfull'ſt ſhepheard could not know,
No ſigne upon their Fleece being found
But the ſad ſheep-mark of a wound!

Thyrſ. *Where are their Swaines?* Melib. *Why haſt not (read*
Of Satyres *grim in Rurall weed,*
Chaſing the Nimphs with foule deſires
I kindled at their beaſtlier fires?
Such are Theſe, who to appale
The Flocks, have Dogs and Wolves at tall.
Yet I remember Mœris *ſaid*
Twaine of the Wolves were lately paid,

Moſt

Moſt happily with Croſſe-bow ſlaine,
As ſacrifice to angry Pan:
But cheifeſtly he mention made
Of moſt ſtrange prankes ſo foulely plaid
By a mad Ramme, whoſe curled Head
Planted with Hornes of Vncouth ſpred,
And various wreathing up and downe
Doth threaten great Palæmons Crowne,
Which Ramme butts, puſhes, gores the Reſt
Without relent, fleeces the beſt;
Thoſe that keep life, (happy the dead!)
He leads on to be murthered.

Thyr. *All this the Ramme?* ———
VVe only drad in times of yore
The Iriſh wolfe and Northerne Bore;
But our owne Ramme? O baneſull day,
Ye Heaven's, when Fleece on fleece ſhall prey!
Ceaſe, we implore theſe miſeries,
Yee knowne and unknowne Deities;
VVhether the Hill, the wood, the vale
Or ought elſe you ſacred call.

Melib. *Pray on, and bleſſing be thy meed,*
Chaſt Oriſons are ſure to ſpeed.
O my hopes! ſee where a traine
(VVill make me take up Pipe again,)
Encompaſſing with goodlyeſt dreſſe
The moſt glorious ſhepheardeſſe
That Heaven's or Mortall Eye haue ſeen,
Her very ſtate proclaimes a Queene.

Thyr. *Both, Melibee, for if you looke,*

You may deſcry a Crowne and Crooke,
That Gold, this Silver: then I ſee
Our wood and Flockes ſhall ſetled be.
VVelcome from Low-Country Land
To once-fairer Englands *Strand.*
Melib. *Welcome as ſhade to the tann'd ſwaine.*
Thyr. *Welcome as ſpring, or* April *raine*
To paſture grounds. Melib. *and unto me*
Welcome as Peace, and Victory.
Ambo. *VVelcome to all, but who in their curſt wile*
Deſtroy the Kingdome for to gaine the Iſle.

I. Goad. Ioann.

So Titan *from his Eaſterne bed*
His quickning Influence doth ſhed
Vpon the widowed Earth. So men
Divorced from wives doe knit agen.
For though her Grace did but depart
From Charle's *his ſight, and not his heart,*
Though both were One, when ſhe was gone,
Yet this unite's that Vnion.
And her Returne we well may ſay
Is both their Grace's Nuptiall day.
Since then her Majeſty *is come*
The ſame Wife, and another, home;
Since we the Royall Siens ſee
Now reingraffed on this Tree,
Since her Returne is look't upon
Juſt as her Reſurrection;

Our

Our hasty Ioy is grown so fierce
Whil'st fetter'd in so short a verse,
That from a strong desire to be more fleet
They doe begin to multiply their feet.
Yet now againe they're Lame,
And waxen farre more Tame.
To shew that prating Ioyes are weake,
Whil'st strong Ones can no longer speake.

T. Pierce. E. Coll. Magd.

SO in an instant sprung a beauteous World
At Lights approach. Witches, and Beasts of Prey
All hide themselves at the first dawne of day.
So in some darke confus'd mysterious Plot
A Goddesse comes and does unty the knot.
We're Schollers once againe (this change to you
Heire of great Henries *Victories we owe.)*
And dare recall the long neglected notes
Of Poesy, maugre all ill newes, and Votes.
We that even now no other language spoke
Then Warre's rough accents, that like Thunder broke,
Doe now melt into Sonnets, and can sing
Nothing but Iös to our conquering King.
You whose rare goodnesse in a Forraigne State
New Subjects and a Kingdome could create;
Whose word, more worth then fifty Subsidies,
In Holland *could command more rich supplies*
Of Armes, and Monies, then the fleet, or Hull,

The

The Tower, or Plunder, or the Citty Gull;
You that at Sea from the rough waves and wind
Did more obedience then from Subjects find;
You to whom Stormes prov'd Pilots, and the Bay
Welcom'd with shot, and hearts more hard then they;
You who alone Fright more then all the Force
Of France, *or* Denmarke, *or the* Germane-*Horse;*
You who are all these, whom a desperate crew
More dread then Peace or Conquest; 'tis to you
We owe the sad Scenes change. Great Queene, *you raise*
A flaming Altar, and a Grove of Bayes,
Where Horrour dwelt, and slaughtred Soules did lye,
Comming not more your selfe, then Victory.
Conquest attends your Presence. That Fleet Lord
Swell'd like a Torrent, till you damp'd his sword.
The Northerne Army in one weeke did more
When they had seen You, then a Yeare before.
'Twas not so much the brave Earles *Valour drew*
On his retreating Troopes, as the naming You.
Wee' are once againe a Kingdome, and shall see
Long banish'd Peace, our Lawes, and Liberty;
No longer VVords, but Things, that shall out last
Your Fathers brazen Statue. Time shall waste
That Monument; but these to you shall be
Trophyes as lasting as our Liberty.

W. Creed, Ioan:

OVr Moone hath been Eclips'd. The muddy throng
Of Earth-borne Traitors hath combin'd so long

To interpoſe it ſelfe, 'twixt our bright Queene
And Englands *Sun, her rayes were hardly ſeene.*
Two Seas, like two Horizons *did divide*
Theſe two great Lights, our Soveraigne and his Bride;
The firſt We owe to Nature: but our feares
For our Queenes *abſence, made the next of Teares;*
Yet ſhe has paſt them both, and now is come
In triumph, to her Vote-condemned home.
And after her Eclipſe, with freſher light
Expells thoſe Melancholy clouds of Night
Which had ore-ſpread our ſoules. O may ſhe ſhine
In this our Orbe, till that, that's more divine
Claime her as due: and Mary *fixed there*
Make one Starre more in the Celeſtiall Sphere.

Franciscus Finch Equitis aurati filius. E. Coll. Ball.

When that ſome gloomy cloud obſcures the day,
And dareſt' oppoſe the moſt tranſplendent ray
Of the Worlds eye: then Phœbus *ſhewes his light,*
And puts thoſe Cloudy Rebells all to flight.
Though ſome Rebellious vapours yet oppoſe
Your Royall brightneſſe, it ſhall nothing looſe,
But gaine by pale-fac't malice; for the Sun
Shines cleareſt when the darkſome cloud is gone.
Thoſe Clouds, which have ſo long obſcurd your light,
You ſhall diſperſe, and then ſhine forth moſt bright.
And we whoſe tongues like Niobe's, *were ſeene*
Struck dumbe with ſorrow for our abſent Queene,

Move at Your comming: but yet gently grieve
Some teares of hope, loath rashly to believe
What we all long for, till our eyes have seen
The safe returne of our thrice-welcome Queene.

IOANNES FINCH Equitis Aurati
filius è Coll. Ball.

WElcome from Tempests to a Calme, the Breast
Of Mighty Charles, where Peace, & gentle rest,
Amidst these sad Distractions, still have sate;
O how His loving Armes did spread of late
To entertaine You! with what hast to greet
You, He went forth, and did ev'n faint to meet!
The PRINCE and DUKE a Blessing beg'd, which You
Joy'd to bestow: And may You still renew
Such Blessings on them, and they grow up still
Vnder those Blessings, till their Names shall fill
Large Roomes in History: Oh may You see
Such greetings oft, but no more absent be!
Welcome to th' Army you have Nourish'd, when
CHARLES for his safety had but Naked men:
The Sinewy strength of Mony You sent o're,
And cloath'd that strength with Armes, useless before.
For though Your Husband You have not come nigh,
You bring the chast Birth of a Victory.
May these Your Labours prosper, till good Fate
Cure the distempers of our sickly State.
And the worst parts, when they their evill feel,
Endure Your Balsame rather then Your Steele.

I. READ. M. of Arts of Ch: Church.

GReat Luminary of our Clouded spheare,
In long Night of Your Absence did appeare
Prodigious works of Darknesse, men grew blind
Not only in their Eyes but in their Mind:
Walk't raving in their Dreames, acting new Rex
About the Land, carelesse of Age or Sexe.
And, once among the Antients as was done
By shrillest Noyse to helpe the groaning Moone
With Bells and Basons; so were we faine here,
Amidst this great Eclipse, to fright out Feare,
With Drumms and Trumpets: such loud Tumults made,
That few men know what they have done or said.
In this State-Babell, *or Theomachie,*
We nick-name all things. Truth *it selfe's* a Lie;
Atheisme Religion. Fury *is tearm'd* Zeale.
Blood-thirsty Faction, Love *to Common-weale.*
Rapine *is* Thrifty-*skilfull Art: to bring*
Armes against CHARLES *is to defend the* KING.
Any thing else but what men should, *they* doe,
In this Eclipse of Sense *and* Reason *too.*
In Thessaly, *or such inchanted places*
All things weare Masks and Vizards, and strange faces;
Coaches beat up Alarms, Forts made of Styles,
Bushes and Thistles go for Ranks and Files.
All this in Calme of Peace, when Panick feares
Made us take Knives for Rapiers, Rods for Speares.
But now we'gin to smart; in earnest we
Doe put in practice Sceptick Theorie.
Each pit and wrinkle in the brow entwines
And wraps up strange unthought-upon Designes.

Spies, Scouts, and Traitors now adayes goe in
The ſhape of deareſt Friends, and neereſt Kin.
Each man is leaſt of that he ſeemes, or tells;
Thus they, which boaſt of Faith, are Infidells.
With ſome men all Apparel's voted down,
Leaſt men in womens Clothes might take a Town.
If their owne Meſſengers returne agen,
They'r either brib'd, or chang'd to other men.
Arreſted Packets are ript up and read
All backwards. A. perhaps muſt now be Z.
Or in their Analyticks C. is D.
And this muſt meane dreadfull State Myſtery.
Dove-houſes muſt be ſearcht, leaſt they bring home
Some other winges, and pennes beſides their owne.
The innocent white Paper they ſuſpect
As ſoil'd with guilty Letters, as infect
With Onyons, Lemmons, or ſalt Ammonick
Milke, Egges, or Allum, ſome ſuch Magick trick
To charme the eyes of Saints. Therefore they dare
Not truſt the dayrie, or the Drugſters ware.
Thus doth their Rack of phancy all things wreſt,
Who hatcht that Chaos in their ruder breaſt.
Come then diſpell and ſcatter (Queene of Light)
Theſe foggy vapours of the dreadfull night.
Cleare up theſe miſts of Errour, breake that Cloud
That it diſſolve not into ſtormes of blood.
Henceforth let no Pythagoras of theirs
Tempt to deſcry ſome bloody Characters
In your bright Orbe, as ſome ſay, that ſage wight
Could doe upon the Planet of the Night;

But

But let the more-then all discerning spie
Be more dismaid with Darts thrown from your Eye.
Of all Artill'ry let them not know how
To shun the battrie of your Cheeke or Brow.
So may such men, beholding your pure light,
Not blame that Lustre but their owne dim sight.
Though some the World must have on whom to lay
Reproach, 'gainst whom th' Afflicted may inveigh,
Who living in the Eye of Action,
Not hindring it, are thought to draw it on:
As if one walking in a Crack of thunder
Must needs be said to rent the Clouds asunder.
By such false Opticks and weake fallacy
Idolatry began, and Iealousy.

IOH: BRESLEY.
N. C. Socius.

Great Madam,

THE Muses *heretofore were wont to wait*
Vpon you at your Childbed, to relate
The dangers there o're pass'd, no thought was then
We should have had such matter for the Penne;
Your Travailes *then were shorter, in the space*
Of a small month we saw your Princely face,
But now more then a tedious yeare is spent
Since we Your forced absence did lament;
Your only Enemies then were Pangs and Grones
Which breeding caus'd with him Your Royall Bones;
But now a patched Rout with malice dare
Your Person hurt, which savage beasts would spare;

The Birth of Princes the chiefe Theme hath beene
For Schollars, now, the safety of the Queene.
We now doe runne to meet You in the Field
Wherein we see your Fanne turn'd to a Shield.
Vpon Your Cheekes the Royall Colours lye,
The Rose and Lilly in full Majesty,
Your lovely Look Commander is in Chiefe
Of all the Hearts; your Hands powre out releefe
To needy Souldiers; 'mongst your Femall train
The Lady Money followes, to sustaine
Your Army with full store, which was not got
By th' publike Faith, that hansome sugred plot.
Your sweet celestiall Voice doth farre more cheare
Then any Trumpet, and forbids all feare.
Your Maids of honour with their glorious sight
Millions of Preaching City-dames will fright.
Each beauty takes a Pris'ner, and what hand
Can hurt those Starrs which doe the hearts command.
Newes of your Victories, like Pages, came
Before your Person, to proclaime you fame.
To take a Towne by th' way it was your sport,
Nor was your prosp'rous Iourney hindred for't.
Burst malice then, burst, since not all thy Wit
Not all thy Ambush, which thou thought'st so fit
For such a prize, could ever Her prevaile;
Thy Votes, thy Slanders, all thy Poysons fayle.
Shee's here in spite of thee, nor canst thou part
These two againe with thy Geneva Art.

Iohn Dale, Junior Fellow of Magd: Coll.

VVHat? Scholars digge; ambitious clergy! hence,
Good works were thought to be your bane long (ſince.
Digg, ſweat for verſes now, till ſome are made
So blunt as if writ not with Penne, but Spade.
At diſtance view your Queene, and ſuch a one
As ſuits not with the State, but griefe o'th' throne.
Driven from her KING in Perſon full as farre
As all her drivers hearts from dutie are.
Yet they mixe ſoules: though we divided ſee
The Kingdom from it ſelfe, the King can't be.
Shee ſpeeds ſupplyes of Armes, 'tis fit to bring
Though Iron tributet' an invaded King.
Mayn't ſhee be helper to her Husband? can
We the firſt bleſſing make a curſe to man?
Shee has an Army; bluſh the Iriſh crue.
Theſe the Queene's Army truly make, not you,
Each Maid of Honour's Fanne's became a ſhield,
Indeed no honour like to that o'th field.
If any ruder hand, or healthleſſe place
'Mongſt theſe hath violated any face,
May they weare ſpecks not for their Pride, but eaſe,
Med'cine, not beauty; for to heale, not pleaſe.
'Midſt theſe what will not wounded men endure,
Pitty from ſuch is above halfe a cure.
Welcome dread Madam, from, I'dnigh ſaid, to
A Country much unworthy now of you.
May this your ſafe returne to your Charles prove
A pledge as well of Victory as Love.
May theſe whoſe happineſſe and fate ſhall be
To ſee you charge againſt them, bluſh and flee.

RICHARD STEVENSON.

Madam,

For Convoy were I Poet, Horſe and Foot
With as much eaſe as the Committee doe't
I'd raiſe. They vote, 'tis done. A Poet thus
Bites but his nayles, and mounts his Pegaſus,
Raiſes Brigades *of Foot, Each coppy ſent*
Of verſe is Company, or Regiment,
Verſes are Files of Foot, foure or five deep
As th' Poets pleaſe to draw them up, and keep
Them Ranke and File. Then (Madam) *take from me*
This flagd-barefooted-cripled Company.
There is not one weares Sock or Buskin here,
And therefore ſtand all upon thornes for feare
Of being caſheerd. I've ſcap't as plung'd a caſe,
With a conniving muſter they may paſſe.

HEN: HARINGTON Fellow of All Soules, and Captaine of a Company of Foot-Souldiers.

IF Perſians uſed fondly to adore
The Sun ariſing on the Eaſterne ſhore,
After but one ſhort night, with ſuch a cry
And acclamation of exultancy:
What ſhall we doe, when light doth reappeare,
Within the limits of our Hemiſpheare,
After a yeares Eclipſe? or how diſgeſt
The happy comming of ſo faire a gueſt?
We'll doe but only thus, and that is, pay
A Pearle unto our Queenes *arrivall day,*
For a white Stone: whilſt that the Peſants bring,
Their fatlings as a free-will offering.

PAT. WYCHE, Exon. Coll. Commen.

VVHen You (great Queen) *ventur'd Seas, Rocks, &*
Leaving us all Exotick *to our selves,* (*Shelves,*
Just as a doubtfull Needle stands 'twixt two
Loadstones, we hung betwixt the King *and* You.
We first went on, then back again, then loath
To loose but one, we as it were lost Both.
When Low-Dutch waxed High, and more Divine,
Our Isis *wisht to mingle streams with* Rhine,
As once Alphæus (*though in vaine*) *did move*
His loving Waves for Arethusa's *love.*
But since all Loyall Hearts went out with You,
And Your returne hath brought our Ioy *home too,*
Mars *is turn'd* Mercury, *and thinks it good*
To write Your welcome in Your Rebells blood.
That so our future Calendars may be
So many years of this one Iubilee;
For Your blest presence cannot ever want
An Art to make our Church not Militant,
Who, though at first You found Rebellious Seas,
At last did check their Warre into a Peace.
God Neptune *vail'd his Trident in his hand,*
As Lictour *to convey Your Grace to Land.*
Thus was he calm'd, and shall You want a Rodde
To scourge these Rebells, who could whip that God?

GEO. WAKE Coll. Mag.
Proc. Sen.

HAllow the Threshold, Crown the Posts anew;
The day shall have its due:
Twist all our Victories into one bright wreath,
On which let Honour breath;
Then throw it round the Temples of our QUEENE;
'Tis Shee that must preserve those glories green.

When greater Tempests, then on Sea before,
Recean'd Her on the shore,
When She was shot at, for the Kings own good,
By Villaines hir'd to Blood;
How bravely did Shee doe, how bravely Beare,
And shew'd, though they durst rage, Shee durst not feare.

Courage was cast about Her like a Dresse
Of solemne Comelinesse;
A gather'd Mind, and an untroubled Face
Did give Her dangers grace.
Thus arm'd with Innocence, secure they move,
Whose Highest Treason is but Highest Love.

As some Bright Starre, that runnes a diverse Course,
Yet with Anothers force,
Mixeth its vertue in a full dispence
Of one joynt influence,
Such was Her mind to th' Kings, in all was done;
The Agents Diverse, but the Action One.

Look on Her Enemies, on their Godly Lyes,
Their Holy Perjuries,

Their

Their Curs'd encrease of much ill gotten Wealth,
By Rapine or by stealth.
Their crafty Friendships knit by equall guilt,
And the Crown-Martyrs blood so lately spilt.

Look then upon Her selfe; Beauteous in Mind,
Scarce Angells more refin'd;
Her actions Blameht, Her Conscience Hill Her sway,
And that not fearing Day:
Then you'l confesse Shee casts a double Beame,
Much shining by Her selfe, but more by Them,

Receive Her then as the new springing Light
After a tedious Night:
As Holy Hermits doe Revealed Truth;
Or Æson did his youth.
Her presence is our Guard, our Strength, our Store;
The cold snatch some flames thence, the valiant more.

But something yet, our Holy Priests will say,
Is wanting to the Day:
'Twere sinne to let so Blest a feast arise
Without a Sacrifice.
True, if our Flocks were full. But being all
Are gone, the Many-headed Beast must fall.

WIL. CARTWRIGHT of Ch. Ch.
Proc. Inn.

A

SPEECH

MADE TO THE

QUEENES most Excellent Majesty

By Dr. STRODE

Orator of the UNIVERSITY.

Most Gratious and Glorious QUEENE.

OVt of the Abundance of Heart, our Lips overflowing to God in Thankes, overflow to you in Joy: for though we were never so cloy'd with your most Excellent Presence, that the delight thereof should need any sharpning of Absence; yet such an Absence, so barbarously forc'd with danger, so bitterly persued with Calumnies, so patiently born, in leaving that Company out of pure love which you most Lov'd, in sequestring your selfe from the Armes of Your Royall Husband to furnish

nish His Hands with strength, to send him the sinewes of *Mars* for the *Venus*-like Brests which you carried hence, such an absence, after perills by Sea and Land, now turn'd to a powerfull Returne, calls us out of our selves; our Spirits beyond our Eyes, our Hearts before our Tongues, to greet your most desired Presence; which, in beholding your Picture, we longd for, and in beholding Your Person, we are ready to dye for. You have often layen in travell for Princes, but now of late You have travell'd for Kingdoms, and in Your happy returne Your People are deliver'd. At Your heavy departure You left a deer Husband, how much more then so, was uncertain; sweet Children, how much more then so, was uncertain; Men of *Brittaine*, how much more, appeared not then; but Now, You are return'd to Your Husband the King, to Your Children the Princes, to the *Brittains* Your faithfull Servants, and Children too, of an inferior Relation, but like Affection, truly honouring you as the Mother of their Country. You have left behind you Victory in the North; You find it spreading in the South; and Victory from the West hath been seasonably stayed till this poynt, as ordain'd to salute your approach, and celebrate Your entertainment: amidst this confluence of trophies, 'tis another great Victory, that we injoy You Safe; Safe by Gods Protection, though wickedly assaulted with Engines of Death even when you first touch'd the shore, a shore, Ah, too unworthy of your blessed Feet; safe here, though elsewhere blasted with the name of Rebell (but yet by

Rebells) for Your constant Loyalty to Your King and Husband, Your unwearied Activity in His behalfe, able to slacken the memory of *Artemisia*, *Zenobia*, and our famous *Eleanor*; Safe, (I joy to repeat it often) though traiterously looked upon, by Armies on the right hand, and Armies on the left: for how much greater Your vertue, 'tis with so much the fiercer malignity aimed at, and with so much more prevalent Grace defended. We behold a strong Hoast of Men in Your attendance below, and with other eyes a stronger Hoast of Angells hovering above, under Gods ordering; More of every kind for us, then against us; more Angells then Divells, more true Hearts then perjur'd Consciences, more Prayers then Blasphemers, more Joy then Envy, more Prayers then Curses, at length more Victories then Combats. Me thinks, upon this Your second comming, Your Marriage is renew'd, a union of the Rose & Lillies springs a fresh on Your cheeks, and all the Spectators are as joyfull Now, as Then. In this contention of Welcome, I will not presume to detaine You longer from the Bosome of Your Royall Husband, the Necks of Your Princely Children, the Eyes of Your loving People, and from the lowd greeting of every thing that hath Breath or sound.

COnjux qui viduo jacere lecto
Annum sustinuit, cavens querelam,
Vt sensit reditum Tuum, *Maria*,
Vt sensit reditum Tuum, Sutumq;
Qui tecum peragravit intus exul,
Spretis, evolat obvius, ministris.
Sic Magnes thalami memor fugacis
Quærit sollicito tremore Ferrum,
Et nutu velut anxio reclamat,
Sic dum longiùs hinc & hinc odorat
Errantem Socium, sequace voto
Auscultat pavitans; magis magisq;
Dum sentit reducem, magis magisq;
Prodit gaudia palpitante motu,
Et tendit procul osculum, ruitq;
Assultu rapido vorans Amicam.
Qualem, ô blanda vicissitudo rerum,
Scenam His congredientibus parâsti!
Et *Marti* & *Veneri* locum auspicatum.
Quà vanas iniit Popellus Iras,
Stat pugnam repetens Amoris Vxor;
Idem Monticulus, jocante fato,
Belli Primitias tulitq; Pacis.

GUIL. STRODE S. Theol. Prof. Orator *Publicus*, Ecc. Ch. Prabendarius.

THE PRINTERS CONCLVSION To Her MAJESTIE.

Madam,

THat Traytrous and Vnletterd Crew
Who fight 'gainſt Heaven, Their Soveraigne, and You,
Have not yet ſtain'd my Hallowed FOUNTS, The ſpring
Muſt needs be Cleare that iſſues from the King.
Preſſes of Old, as Pens, did but incite
Others to Valour; This It Selfe did fight:
In Ranks and Files theſe Letters Marſhall'd ſtood
On Diſmall Edg-Hill-day, yet 'twas not blood
They boaded by their Black, for Peace they ſought,
And Teem'd with Pardons while the Rebells fought.
Yet thoſe that found it on that Boyſterous day
Tooke't for ſome Dread Commiſſion of Array;
And thought each Letter Theta, every Point
To give a Period to a Life or Joynt;
They Plunder'd, and ſo turn'd it ore and ore
As th' had ne're uſed their Neck-verſe worſe before;
So Anagrammatized each Comma in't
That Babel-London has not put in Print
More confuſed Nonſenſe.....
Yet now it glories in its ſoyle, and will
Be throughly reconcil'd even to Edg-Hill,
Since that which then firſt ſhewed the Rebell Crew,
Was now an Ida to diſcover You.

LEONARD LICHFIELD.

15.

THE CAMBRIDGE ROYALLIST Imprisoned.

B. R.

K

'Twas then, when as the Fame of *Rupert's* Force
Call'd the confiding Counties all to Horse,
And drew the Bacon-eating Cavaliers,
(By the convenient Handle of their ears)
To leave their tough dunne Wives behind, and come
(Their Calve-skin Breeches turn'd into a Drumme)
Tout-stinke our streets at *Cambridge*, when as I,
(Being guiltie found of too much honestie)
By two Malignants was, *Conscience* and *Reason*,
Betray'd t'an act of Vertue, now call'd Treason:
The Committee was straight informed; A youth,
With goodly goggle eyes, and large wry mouth,
Is sent for me. -- He knocks at Doore; Who's there?
A Friend; Wuns, I defie you all. Come neere!
The word scarce spoke, there comes one rushing in,
All arm'd with *Ears*, his Buffe was o'th' same skinne:
What could One thinke this was? Some monstrous Creature,
Tann'd, whilst it was alive, whose Visage Nature
Broach'd i'th' wrong place; Faith, I took't for a Man.
(Boldly I must confesse) and thus began:

July 31 1643

What wouldst thou Friend, what brought thee to this place
He answers me from th'other side his face;
Y'are a Malignant Sir, and Rebell, wee
Are sent to fetch you to the Committee.
Good words my Friend; if you do I must bee
A Rebell, I some hope of Comfort see,
Your mouth doth just fit th' hanging posture stand;
With that his Browes fierce bristles startled, and
I yield up, Sir, Ile goe along with you:
Walke on; *Nay leave me in the Chamber though,*
Good Lord, y'are all so complemental. Downe
We goe, and both marcht up into the Towne:
And which way now? *Nay, good Sir keepe the wall:*
Excuse me, Sir; *Nay as you live you shall:*
Yet by 'tis the windie side, and credit mee
Your strange perfumes make my head ake. Thus wee
Marcht to the Towne-Hall; where being straight set in,
Such company, such smoake, such stinke, such dinne,
Such swearing did salute me, that I fell
On wondring how we came up stayres to Hell,
For this could be no lesse; on every side
Such sawcer-eyes appear'd such horrid wide,
And gaping mouthes, such teeth, such thorny haire,
Which you might see through th' lanterne of their eare,
So short, so strangely notcht, that you might know
It never had bin cut, but singed so;
Beside each horne-pipe voyce seem'd to betray
Where good Saint *Dunstans* Tongs had spoyld the way:
Happy the men must fight with these, thought I,
For they shall nothing but their backs espie.
Six Volley of Curses 'gainst the Schollers, heere,
Went off for entertainment, and a Jeere.
Or two were past for Complement; but I,
Like a brave-suffering Man, pass'd silent by,
They spent themselves about me: One steps out,
And cryes, *Rupert's* a Coward; all the Rout
Clap hands to th' Basket-hilt, and *Draw*, then cry,
Oh that we had that Divell Rupert *by.*

Out

But ye damn'd Garlick-eating Rogues, D'you thinke
you don't already haue sufficient stinke,
But you must call for one, whose very Name
will dye your Scarffes and Breeches of the same?
Three tedious houres amongst these hell-hounds wee
Bravely endur'd; when comming in we see
A spruce young Rebell, who scarce yet did know
Whether he fought against the King, or no;
Who had bin Scholler once (t'our shame be't spoken)
Since a young Marchant, and since that time broken,
Now damn'd to th' service of the Rebels: hee
Proffer'd his utmost paines to set us free.
Although it vex'd me, any of them should
Doe ought which even Complement might call good,
Yet had not so much valour to deny
Quarter, though from a Rebell, willingly
Accept his courteous offer; thinking then,
The greatest Good could befall innocent men,
Was to be soone accus'd: With that away
We went to th'Beare, where then our Judges lay;
Where by the Captaine we were brought before
A veryer Beast then that which hung at doore,
A strange, fat, unlickt, bald-fac'd fellow, who
Was round all ore, head, face, back, belly too:
This thing was Knighted once, but into's skin,
Beside the tallow and guts, were crowded in
A Foole, a Knave, a Mad-man, in whose Rights
He since hath stil'd himselfe not Knight, but Knights.
He having run'd his Pipes with six or seven
Good ratling Oathes, began to speake; *'Fore Heaven*
Gentlemen this is strange: By ---- it is;
And if it were but my case as 'tis his,
(Meaning the Colonels) *I'de hang you all:*
For looke you, Sir, if any Body shall
Abuse the Parliament, as some of you
May chance, and I have witnesse of it too,
Iudge me, confound me, if you had but don't,
The best amongst you should heare further on't.

This Mooneling I did now perceive to be
A kind of *Haselrigge* at the Committee,
Onely brought in to do he knew not what,
And gladly would have kept him out of that
Mad Wildernesse of Non-sence, and began
To aske him, what the matter was? The man
Mad at this Interruption, tells us plaine,
We all must back to th' Court of Guard againe;
The Divell since (thought I) entred this Rogue
In the same humour that he did the Hogge.
But obstinate he was, we all are sent
To th' Hell from whence we came, and downe we went.
But our spruce Youngster who before relievd us,
Now in the height of our Despaire reprievd us,
And by stealth kept us in the House: the Mind
Of him who finding Gold, did leave behind
His Rope, was not so glad as ours; for heere
We found a handsome Roome, good wholesome Beere,
Some hopes of Supper too, nor did we lack
The promise of incomparable Sack.
And sayst thou so, my Lad? Let's have it then;
Fill my Bowle full, you Rogue. Come Gentlemen,
A Health t'our friends, and him above the rest,
Who's meant by th' Phillip and Clap upon the brest.
How now, who's drooping there? who dares be so
In the Kings Cause, and on the Kings day too?
Pox on't, 'tis scurvie; Ile tell thee, we shall bring
(When we are merrie or lowsie) for the King
As much of spirit as when we fight for him.

Come, heere's to thee Jack,
'Tis a Cup of good Sack,
Let the Plunderers come,
With their Fife and Dramme,
Let in Bullet th' House,
We care not a Lowse,
Ile fill up my Cup,
And take it all up.

Then

Then through their Chambers weele send such a Rattle,
Shall summon the Rogues in their Dreames to Battell;
And when we begin but our Voyces to reare,
It shall strike such a terror in every Prick-eare,
That shall make the Round-heads
Leape out of their Beds,
And sweare Prince Rupert's *there.*

VVhat was't I began,
King Charles *was the Man?*
'Tis he that must now
Claymne just title too.
That gallant brave food
Of rich sparkling blood,
That Liquor must make,
VVhich now thou dost take,
I tell thee 'twill bring such spirits to thee,
That shall in the face of a Rebell flee;
And entring in, without any controule,
Shall find out that durtie thing call'd thy Soule,
And hunt it about,
Till they drive it out,
By the way most stinking and foule.

Come fill my Cup full,
Heere's to the taking of Hull,
To the Man that shall bring
The great Cuckold to th' King,
To him that shall make
Northampton *to quake,*
To all that dare fight,
And dye with delight.
Then let them all come; what fearest, thou Man?
Doe but spend what thou hast, let them take what they can:
And since that the Rogues with their Armes doe endeavour
Our selves from our King and our Money to sever,

Weele send it by stealth,
In drinking his Health,
And give't him that way forever.

This Rapture ended, wee see comming in
A good Man of the Tribe of *Anakim*;
A prettie beard-lesse Squire followed him nigh,
Being a Gigge of his, some seven foot high:
They tell us, Supper's comming up; wee say,
Let it come up, i'th' meane time drinke away.
Supper being done, the mirth w'enjoy'd before
Returnes continues some five houres, or more;
Mysterious Malignant Healths abound,
Which we by Signes and Characters put round;
The last of which *Simultaniously* went up,
Each Letter in the Name Christened a Cup.
And now all things convenient being done,
Our Brace of *Assertors*, Host and's Sonne,
Made very sleepie, our neat Captaine sunke,
Our Hostesse kiss'd our gentle Keepers drunke,
A bridling Cast gone round, to Bed we goe,
And sleepe like valiant Prisoners roundly too;
Our Martiall Jaylors by us are layd all,
Drunke o'th' ground, dust to dust: i'th' Morne they call,
We lowse our selves, an I rise, then goe to bee
Question'd by the *Sanedrim* i'th' Committee.
But heere things prove quite contrary; No man
Can tell why we are brought there: We began
T'examine them, What was our fault? Our foe,
The gentle Knight said, he did nothing know,
But that we might be honest; onely apace
He swore that we were Rogues, and hanging was
Too good for us: Another starts, and sayes
We wore *Kings* Colours (God so, Wise thy face,
Good fellow Prisoner, that pale reddish Blew
Will else betrap us) Another swore, he knew
Each of us had a Pope in's belly; some
Said we dranke Healths unto they knew not whom:

Our

Our Keepers knew no hurt, unleſſe 'thad bin
Drinking of Sack, honeſt *Jack Falſtaffes* Inne,
That could not any accuſation bring,
(Though Royall Drinke and Liquor for the King)
One ſaid he thought that we Malignants were;
That very word made us to tarry there:
For now their Cabinet Counſaile thought it fit
To keepe us, till we ſhould ſome Crime commit.
This vex'd me (I confeſſe) and to my thought
Some of my dayly Meditations brought.

Curſe on your Parliament Juſtice; I did know
This was your way, and I have felt it now:
Alas, we know your arbitrarie hate
Is growne to be both our Sterne Law and Fate;
We know how oft y'are forc'd the Name to change,
And what you can't call Puniſhment, is Revenge.
If you doe hap to light on a conteſt
Offender, 'tis but Fortune at the beſt,
To be thought honeſt Men, is to betray
Our ſelves and fortunes (an unluckie pray)
To your vaſt cruell Avarice: We know
What horrid ills you muſt hereafter doe,
By Sequeſtration and Proſcriptions; Crimes
Which ſhall abſolve th'*Iriſh* in after-times.
Oh may theſe Wrongs ſit heavie on you, when
You meet the King i'th' Field; May your Ills then
Stick faſt and ſtrongly to you on all parts,
And ſend a gaſtly trembling through your hearts;
May you then thinke of GOD, and pious grow,
And then Deſpaire prove Cowardiſe in you;
Be your owne Sp'rites amongſt you, to poſſeſſe
Your Coward hearts with thoughts of guiltineſſe,
And feare of Vengeance: May each good mans prayer,
Whom you have wrong'd, flye ſtrong againſt you there;
And your miraculous Misfortunes bring
You to confeſſe, you fight againſt the King.

And ſure we ſhall at laſt our wiſhes gaine,
So vigorous hatred cannot be in vaine:
If Murther, Rapine, and Injuſtice bee
Enough t'orewhelme you, ſure theſe eyes ſhall ſee
Your Villanies unmaskt, and you ſo low
And poore, that e'en my ſelfe ſhall pittie you.

And thou my *Knight*, whom a more ſordid Fate
Hath made below ſo ſtrong, and fierce a hate,
My venerable Judge, to whom I owe
Six Lice and my Impriſonment, ſhalt grow
More famous now (if ought my Verſes can,
Or thoſe my Friends can make) thou ſhalt b'a Man
Greater then Fate hath made thee (if Ballets bee
But capable of Immortalitie)
Children and Market-maids in after-times
Shall ſee thee dreſt in moſt vile Tunes and Rimes,
And Ale-houſes as yet not built, ſhall ſee
Thy Picture paſted on their Mantle-tree:
Nere looke to dye, thou ſhalt be laught at ſtill,
Longer then *Naſhes Harvy*, or *Triplets* Gill.

FINIS.

Sent from the ſame Scholler from Cambridge, *whoſe name is* R. B. *to his Royall friend at* Oxford, T. S.

Cavaliers hinder Trading.
Oxonian Designes.
A Caveat for London.
The Scots ready to come.
Gainsbrough relieved.

16

Numb. 28.

K. P. P. London

CERTAINE INFORMATIONS

From severall parts of the Kingdome, and from other places beyond the Seas, for the better satisfaction of all such who desire to be truly Informed of every weekes Passage.

From the 24. of *July*, to the 31. of *July*. 1643.

Monday, July 24.

FRom *Kingston* upon *Hull* they write, that the Lord *Fairfax* hath lately received a Commission from the Parliament, whereby they have constituted him to be the Governour of that Fort and Port of great importance for the safety of the Kingdome, which no doubt he will conserve with all loyalty and Fidelity for the King and Parliament, having long testified his constant integrity and indefatigable service for the good of the Common-wealth, even to the exhausting of his estate, and now to the tempory losse of it, by the Earle of *Newcastles* obtaining of the West-riding, where it chiefly lieth.

And they further write from thence, that the Earle of *Newcastle* with the maine body of his Army was at *Leeds*, from whence he hath sent some of his forces to *Scarborough*, to fetch Armes and Ammunition from thence, which were lately sent thither from *Dunkerke* in *Flaunders*: Another part of his forces he hath sent to *Newcastle*, to Fortifie and defend that Towne against the Scots and the *London* Fleet of Ships, both which are shortly expected to be heard of there. And a third part of his Army he sent to take in *Beverley*, where they received such a valiant repulse by the Garrison there, being aided by some foot and horse sent unto them by the Lord *Fairfax* from *Hull*; that they were glad to retire with the losse of many of their party, and some of their Commanders, one of whose dead bodies they made such hast to

get

gat of, that they left his hat and Periwig behinde them for a Trophy to the Repellants.

These have been the late affairs in *Yorkeshire*, which is now in a deplorable condition, because it remaineth in the power of insolent cruell and Popish conquerours, and onely expects through Gods mercy, and the endeavours of the Lord *Fairfax*, to be freed from their present slavery and thraldome.

Derby had some while since advertised us of their intended designe against Sir *Richard Fleetwood*, one of Colonell *Hastings* Fraternity of Robbers, as they terme him, which they have now freely imparted unto us in this manner; That a Captaine, with some gentlemen and their Souldiers, having beset his house called *Wotton lodge*, to keep him from pillaging and plundering, (according to his usuall manner) Captaine *Mellers* with some Companies, and two pieces of Ordnance marched thither from *Derby*, where being come, they presently fired their Ordnance upon the house, to give Sir *Richard* notice of their arrivall, and while they were planting, their Musketiers played upon the House, to keep the defendants in imployment, lest they should sally out to hinder them, which being effected, the Ordnance played hard, and made some battery, but for that time did little hurt. Then they called a Councell of War, who resolved to approach neerer to the house, and either to assault or undermine it, which some of their Souldiers presently put in execution, for they went downe and fired a Barne neere unto it, then Captaine *Mellers* Lieutenant went downe with one or two hundred of his men with spades and pickaxes, and tooke the Brew-house, set the gate of the Porters lodge on fire, and entred the Court yard, where they turned out some horse and other Cattle, being very carefull of Mynes and Traines of gunpowder, lest they should have been blowne up. Immediately after the house was yeilded up, where they took Sir *Richard Fleetwood* and his two sons, with Master *Vincent Eyre*, and seventy other prisoners, whom they tied together with ropes, and so brought them all into *Derby*. This House was farre stronger then *Ashby de la Houch*, and yet it was taken in a day and two nights, onely by three hundred men, notwithstanding Sir *Richard Fleetwoods* boasting, that he feared not all the forces of *Derbyshire* and *Staffordshire*, if they came against him, and he made no question (relying upon the strength of his house) but he could easily repell them.

The Right Honourable the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, sent into the City of *London*, to have especiall thankes to be given to God, for his late Victory at *Gainesburgh* in *Lincolnshire*, where he tooke about 200. persons of note, some of them being Commissioners of Array in that County, and

exceed-

exceedingly dis-affected to the Parliament, and the Peace and wel-fare of their owne Native Country, and he tooke there also some Moneys, together with armes and ammunition, and his Lordship also desired, that hearty and faithfull prayers might be made to the Lord of Hostes, for the preservation of himselfe and his forces, because he was advertised, that the Earle of *Newcastle* had sent an army to oppresse him, if God and good men doe not fight for him and sustaine him: both which were Yesterday sincerely and cordially effected by some Ministers in the City, that had notice thereof given them. Since which relation certaine newes is come, that his Lordship tooke in the said Towne, the Earle of *Kingston*, with about 50. Knights and Gentlemen, as well Commanders as others, whom he sent presently to *Hull*, and he tooke there also neere 300. Souldiers, and set at large 200. men that were kept there prisoners by the enemie, which hath so stimulated Colonell *King*, that he hath drawne his forces out of *Network* upon *Trent*, to besiege his Lordship in *Gainsburgh*.

A Proclamation in the Kings Name, hath been lately openly published at *Oxford*, *Salisbury*, and other places, which strictly forbiddeth all manner of People, to send or carry any goods, wares, Marchandises, or commodities to *London*, *Bristoll*, *Gloucester*, *Dorchester*, *Exceter*, *Warwick*, *Coventry*, *Northampton*, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, *Manchester*, or to any other Townes or places whatsoever in the Kingdome, that are now in actuall Rebellion, (as it is termed) or have taken up armes against him, under the penalty of confiscation of all such goods, wares, &c. Which Inhibition, how illegall and destructive to the Commonwealth it is, the meanest capacity may lightly judge, for it totally abscindeth all the cloathing of the Land, and many other manufactories, and will starve thousands of poore people. What remaineth then but this consequence? that all this nation will rise as one man, and extirpate the Councellors of these destructive wayes, and take them from the land of the living, and then will be verified the *Adage*, *Nullum Consilium consultori pessimum*. For God having given the advisers of these courses up to a reprobate sence, they are so infatuated, and put besides their owne worldly politicks, that in stead of profiting themselves, they are intricated into the greatest disadvantages against themselves, that possibly can be imagined. *Furor sibi malum cavat.*

Tuesday July 25.

Information came this day out of *Kent*, that the late Insurrection there was somewhat dissipated, for the *London* forces had driven the Commotors from *Sevenocke* to *Tunbridge*, and had there fought with them, in which fight

about 18. of the Rebells were slaine, 200. of them were taken prisoners, and the rest of them totally scattered, with the losse of eight of the Londoners; and that Sir *George Sandys* one of the Ringleaders of this Rebellion was taken about *Feversham*, which Towne, together with *Sittingburne*, *Milton*, *Boughton*, *Rainham* and other places he had brought into commotion. The Parliament to pacifie and quiet these Incendiaries, had sent them a Pardon, promised to give them satisfaction in their just requests, but they rejected these favours, and still sent them in answer peremptory petitions, which the Parliament refused to receive untill they had laid downe their armes, for which obstinacy they have now received a just guerdon. But now behold what a fine designe was coyned at *Oxford*, these *Kentish* Rebells had received a Commission from thence (as it is credibly reported) to seize upon *Chatham-dock*, and the great ship called the Soveraigne that lieth there, which having effected, they then should have seized upon Greenwich, and planted Ordnance there to block up the River of *Thames*, then would the Cavaliers Army have seized upon *Kingston* and blocked up the River there also, which would have beene the ready way speedily to have subdued the City, if God had not mercifully prevented it. Wherefore *London*, keepe thy River open, or else thou art irreparably ruined.

In the afternoon of this day, Sir *William Waller*, having left the residue of his horse about *Warwick*, *Northampton* & St *Albans*, came hither onely accompanied with some few of his Captaines and Officers, where he was met upon the way by many hundreds of Citizens, with wel-come acclamations, and when he came to the Forts, they gave him peales of Ordnance and Valleys of small shot, for joy of his safe returne; being come into the City, he stayed a little while in his owne house, and went from thence to the Committee for the Militia at the Guild-hall, to consult with them about the speedy setting of him on foote againe.

Out of *Ireland* it is Informed, that the *Scotts* have lately obtained another great Victory against the *Irish* Popish Rebells in the Province of *Ulster* and almost cleered it from all that Viperous Vermine, and they have reduced them to such extremity, that they die as fast of famine there as the poore Protestants did at the beginning of the Rebellion, wherein we may perceive that God hath recompenced the Rebells with a retaliation, for their inhumane cruelty against the English Nation that would have lived quietly amongst them.

And it is also Informed from thence, that the Marquis of *Ormond* hath received a Commission, and Letter from *Oxford* to make a Pacification

 with

with the Rebells for a yeare, but his Lordship being still true and faithfull to the cause, hath offered to keepe his Army on foote there against them all this Summer, if he may be supplied but with 5000 pound, or else to provide him with Victuall and apparell for his Souldiers for that time, which reasonable request the Committee here having considered of, are sending of moneys to him with all speede. Behold here another fine Designe, to cease the Warres in *Ireland*, that so the Rebells may have liberty to come over into *England* to continue the Warres here, to the finall ruine of all the three Kingdomes.

This day a Messenger came out of *Scotland* by sea to the Parliament, to know the cause why their Commissioners deferred to come thither, where they have beene long expected, and it is related, that the *Scots* have an Army of 26000. men ready to march into *England*, which might but for a call and invitation, and that they have raised an 100000. pound in mony to pay them; and that they had also sent by sea six *Scottish* Lords to be tried by the Parliament, for being Incendiaries against them and this Kingdome.

Wednesday July 26.

This day the Monethly Fast was celebrated, and there preached before the Honourable House of Commons in the forenoone, Master *Cowen* of *Somersetshire*, and in the afternoone Master *Symeon* of *Holland*, and about noone Newes came to this Towne, that the King had sent 2500. horse in 3. Brigadoes, towards *Guilford*, to raise commotions in *Surry*, *Sussex* and *Kent*, where the unruly Rout is now diperst, and *Sir George Sandys* is at *Canterbury*, and *Sir Edward Hales* in *Dover* Castle.

Thursday, July 27.

Many hundreds of Londoners, besides Knights and Gentlemen of the neighbouring Counties, went the last week to the Honourable House of Commons with a Petition, wherein they requested that a Committee of that House whom they named, might have power to take the subscriptions of them and others, that would lift themselves, their horses and moneys to forme a new Army, and when a Commander in chiefe might be named by that Committee, and be presented to the said House for their approbation. The Committee named in the Petition were not excepted against, and the Petition was granted, with a reference to bounder the supreame command of their Lord Generall, who had by Order of Parliament, the Command in chiefe over all the Kingdom of *England*. Since which time, the said Honourable House hath voted some Heads, for the leavy of a new Army according to the said Petition, and it is supposed, that *Sir William Waller* shall be the Commander in chiefe of it.

From *Manchester* they write, that most of the Earle of *Newcastles* forces are drawne out of the West riding in *Yorkeshire*, there remaining but few of his Souldiers in *Hallifax* and *Leeds* for the present. That they are still quiet in that Towne, and doe not feare the Newcastellians if they should come to invade them. That the forces which tooke *Warrington*, have ever since besieged *Haulton* Castle neere thereunto in *Cheshire*, and at last have taken it, and that they had gotten it long since, if one of their Commanders had not treacherously supplied the Castle with gunpowder, (which made them hold out) whom they have apprehended and imprisoned in *Warrington*. That the Earle of *Newcastle* sent some of his horse from *Skipton* in *Craven*, upon that side of *Lancashire*, who were intrapped about a Towne called *Colne*, where some of them were slaine, and about fourty horse taken.

That Sir *William Brereton* had besieged and assaulted the City of *Chester* and taken some of the Out-workes, but finding his Army not strong enough to gaine it, after he had slaine some of the Defendants, retired againe to *Nampwich* with the losse of two of his men, and fourteen others of them wounded, whereof two it is thought will not escape.

The Inhabitants of *Essex*, to prevent the incursions of the Kentish men over the *Thames* into their County, have wisely sent a Regiment of foot, and some Troopes of horse into *Kent*, to helpe to suppresse the Insurrection there.

Friday, July 28.

From *Leicester* they write, that it is reported there from *Nottingham*, that some of the *Newarke* forces lately faced that Towne, who did expect that a party there should have delivered it into their hands; but the Plot was discovered, and the Conspirators apprehended, to the number of twenty, whereof two were Aldermen, who are all sent to *Derby* to be kept there in safe custody, and *Derby* hath some of their Malevolents to be kept in *Nottingham*, as Master *Spademan*, Master *Geare*, and Master *Flamsted*; and *Derby* hath also sent Alderman *Brocklurst* and Master *Calow* to be secured in *Wingfield* Manor, because they grow turbulent and begin to raise commotions in their Towne, and therefore Sir *John Gell* hath thought it best to remove them, and to send them into other places of security.

From *Dorchester* they write, that Sir *Walter Erle* still besiegeth *Corfe* Castle, and though he hath not taken it, yet he hath driven them to that extremity of famine, that thirty of the Defendants are come out of it, because they were almost starved for want of food, and that thereupon they are now in great hope to gaine it shortly.

Further

Further they write, that the Cavaliers have begun to besiege Bristoll, and that Colonell *Fiennes* doubting much the fidelity of the Citizens, hath put six hundred men into the Castle, and that he hath victualled it for six moneths, into which he purposeth to retire if he shall be put to it.

And they likewise write, that the Earle of *Warwicke* landed some of his men at *Exmouth*, who in halfe an houre beate the enemy from their Fortifications there, and tooke their Ports and Ordnance, and then went thence, and tooke *Powderham* Castle upon the same River, and that the Earle sent twelve Ships and Barques to *Topsham*, who tooke the Towne, the enemy flying out upon one shot made into it, and that his Lordship weeneth, that he hopeth by Gods assistance, speedily to cleare the River up to *Exceter*.

Lastly, that the Malevolents in *Dorsetshire*, mightily hold up their heads, and are busie in raising Troopes of horse, and that now *Dorchester* with the aide of some honest men in the County, are raising of 20 hundred horse upon their own charge, and will provide trusty men to ride them, and resolve to pay them for sixe moneths, and to have Armes made there for them, because the Pistolls which they receive from *London* are so nought, that they are of no use, so that the State is not onely cheated of their money for them, but also betrayed, thinking they have Armes, when indeed they have none, which abuse is fit to be look't into and throughly examined.

Saturday, July 29.

The young men of the City of *London*, in great numbers, have listed themselves, at Merchant Taylors Hall, towards the framing of a new Army, where they all with one consent earnestly desired, that Sir *William Waller* might be their Commander in chiefe, who being there present, gave them thankes for their cordiall affection to him, and told them that he could not make long Speeches unto them, but that in briefe, he would adventure his person and life for God, his Religion and Country, and would willingly accept of their choice, if it pleased the Parliament to give their assents, which by an especiall vote they have confirmed; So that now nothing remaines, but for every man either in person or purse to assist him, to bring these bloudy Wars to a period; for the generall opinion is, that unlesse the whole Kingdome rise, and make a body of fourscore or an hundred thousand men, to begirt the Cavaliers in *Oxford*, and either by force to take them, or to starve them, which later may be easily effected without shedding of much blood, this Nation cannot soone recover their former tranquility, neither will trading,

ding be quickly recobtained, which is now debarred by the late Ordinance Proclamation, whereby the adviſers thereof labour to bereave all men of their livelyhoods, the ſooner to ſubdue them, for want of ſubſiſtence.

Out of *Lincolnſhire* the Relation is come, that the *Newarke* Cavaliers with ſtrong forces, were gotten into *Burgleigh* Houſe neer *Stamford*, from whence they ſent a Trumpet to *Peterbrough*, commanding them to deliver up their City, who returned anſwer, that they ſhould have it when they could get it, But Colonell *Cromwell* being unwilling they ſhould reſt there, with all the ſtrength he could get, came upon them, ſtooke the ſaid Houſe, and in it ſix Colonells, ſixe Captaines, four hundred foot, and two hundred horſe, and ſlew fourſcore of them, with the loſſe (ſcarce of ſyx of his owne. And further it is related, that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* hath relieved *Gainsbrough*, and raiſed Colonell Kings Siege from before it.

For Forraine Newes, we have received theſe Informations, as Firſt from *Colen*, that the Duke of *Saxon Weymars* deſigne was to enter *Bavaria*, but found great difficulties to get in. Secondly, that the French Army is gotten to the foot of the Counterſcarpe at *Thionville*, and are the more aſſured to carry it, becauſe there are but a thouſand Souldiers to defend it. Thirdly, that the Prince of *Orange* is ſtill in *Flanders*, and doth nothing but keep the Country in continuall Alarmes. Fourthly, that a 170. Townes, Caſtles and Villages in the Kingdome of Aragon, are revolted from the Spaniard to the French, which hath cauſed the Spaniſh King to go thither in perſon to keep the reſt in obedience.

This is Licenſed and entred into the Hall Book according to Order.

Printed by *G. Biſhop*, and *R. White*.

17

THE DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE OF DIVORCE:

RESTOR'D TO THE GOOD OF BOTH SEXES,

From the bondage of Canon Law, and other miſtakes, to Chriſtian freedom, guided by the Rule of Charity.

Wherein alſo many places of Scripture, have recover'd their long-loſt meaning.

Seaſonable to be now thought on in the Reformation intended.

written by J. Milton

MATTH. 13. 52.

Every Scribe inſtructed to the Kingdome of Heav'n, is like the Maiſter of a houſe which bringeth out of his treaſurie things old and new.

LONDON,

Printed by *T. P.* and *M. S.* In Goldſmiths Alley. 1643.

Aug: 1st

THE DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE OF *DIVORCE*;

RESTOR'D TO THE GOOD OF BOTH SEXES.

MAny men, whether it be their fate, or fond opinion, eaſily perſwade themſelves, if God would but be pleas'd a while to withdraw his juſt puniſhments from us, and to reſtraine what power either the devill, or any earthly enemy hath to worke us woe, that then mans nature would find immediate reſt and releaſement from all evils. But verily they who think ſo, if they be ſuch as have a minde large enough to take into their thoughts a generall ſurvey of humane things, would ſoone prove themſelves in that opinion farre deceiv'd. For though it were granted us by divine indulgence to be exempt from all that can be harmfull to us from without, yet the perverſneſſe of our folly is ſo bent, that we ſhould never lin hammering out of our owne hearts, as it were out of a flint, the ſeeds and ſparkles of new miſeries to our ſelves, till all were in a blaze againe. And no marvell if out of our own hearts, for they are evill; but ev'n out of thoſe things which God meant us, either for a principall good, or a pure contentment, we are ſtill hatching and contriving upon our ſelves matter of continuall ſorrow and perplexitie. What greater good to man then that revealed rule, whereby God vouchſafes to ſhew us how he would be worſhipt? and yet that not rightly underſtood, became

the cauſe that once a famous man in *Iſrael* could not but oblige his conſcience to be the ſacrificer, or if not, the jayler of his innocent and onely daughter. And was the cauſe oft-times that Armies of valiant men have given up their throats to a heatheniſh enemy on the Sabbath day: fondly thinking their defenſive reſiſtance to be as then a work unlawfull. What thing more inſtituted to the ſolace and delight of man then marriage, and yet the miſ-interpreting of ſome Scripture directed mainly againſt the abuſers of the Law for divorce giv'n them by *Moſes*, hath chang'd the bleſſing of matrimony not ſeldome into a familiar and co-inhabiting miſchiefe; at leaſt into a drooping and diſconſolate houſhold captivitie, without refuge or redemption. So ungovern'd and ſo wild a race doth ſuperſtition run us from one extreme of abuſed libertie into the other of unmercifull reſtraint. For although God in the firſt ordaining of marriage, taught us to what end he did it, in words expreſly implying the apt and cheerfull converſation of man with woman, to comfort and refreſh him againſt the evill of ſolitary life, not mentioning the purpoſe of generation till afterwards, as being but a ſecondary end in dignity, though not in neceſſitie; yet now, if any two be but once handed in the Church, and have taſted in any ſort of the nuptiall bed, let them finde themſelves never ſo miſtak'n in their diſpoſitions through any error, concealment, or miſadventure, that through their different tempers, thoughts, and conſtitutions, they can neither be to one another a remedy againſt lonelines, nor live in any union or contentment all their dayes, yet they ſhall, ſo they be but found ſuitably weapon'd to the leſt poſſibilitie of ſenſuall enjoyment, be made, ſpight of *antipathy* to fadge together, and combine as they may to their unſpeakable wearieſomnes & deſpaire of all ſociable delight in the ordinance which God eſtabliſht to that very end. What a calamitie is this, and as the Wiſe-man, if he were alive, would ſigh out in his own phraſe, what a *ſore evill is this under the Sunne!* All which we can referre juſtly to no other author then the Canon Law and her adherents, not conſulting with charitie, the interpreter and guide of our faith, but reſting in the meere element of the Text, doubtles by the policy of the devill to make that gracious ordinance become unſupportable, that what with men not daring to venture upon wedlock, and what with men wearied out of it, all inordinate licence might abound. It was for many ages that mariage lay in diſgrace with moſt of the ancient Doctors, as a

work

work of the fleſh, almoſt a defilement, wholly deny'd to Prieſts, and the ſecond time diſſwaded to all, as he that reads *Tertullian* or *Jerom* may ſee at large. Afterwards it was thought ſo Sacramentall, that no adultery could diſſolve it; yet there remains a burden on it as heavy as the other two were diſgracefull or ſuperſtitious, and of as much iniquitie, croſſing a Law not onely writt'n by *Moſes*, but character'd in us by nature, of more antiquitie and deeper ground then mariage it ſelfe; which Law is to force nothing againſt the faultles proprieties of nature: yet that this may be colourably done, our Saviours words touching divorce, are as it were congeal'd into a ſtony rigor, inconſiſtent both with his doctrine and his office, and that which he preacht onely to the conſcience, is by canonicall tyranny ſnatcht into the compulſive cenſure of a judiciall Court; where Laws are impos'd even againſt the venerable & ſecret power of natures impreſſion, to love what ever cauſe be found to loath. Which is a hainous barbariſme both againſt the honour of mariage, the dignitie of man and his ſoule, the goodnes of Chriſtianitie, and all the humane reſpects of civilitie. Notwithſtanding that ſome the wiſeſt and graveſt among the Chriſtian Emperours, who had about them, to conſult with, thoſe of the fathers then living, who for their learning & holines of life are ſtill with us in great renown, have made their ſtatutes & edicts concerning this debate, far more eaſie and relenting in many neceſſary caſes, wherein the Canon is inflexible. And *Hugo Grotius*, a man of theſe times, one of the beſt learned, ſeems not obſcurely to adhere in his perſwaſion to the equitie of thoſe imperiall decrees, in his notes upon the *Evangeliſts*, much allaying the outward roughneſſe of the Text, which hath for the moſt part been too immoderately expounded; and excites the diligence of others to enquire further into this queſtion, as containing many points which have not yet been explain'd. By which, and by mine owne apprehenſion of what publick duty each man owes, I conceive my ſelfe exhorted among the reſt to communicate ſuch thoughts as I have, and offer them now in this generall labour of reformation, to the candid view both of Church and Magiſtrate; eſpecially becauſe I ſee it the hope of good men, that thoſe irregular and unſpirituall Courts have ſpun their utmoſt date in this Land; and ſome better courſe muſt now be conſtituted. He therefore that by adventuring ſhall be ſo happy as with ſucceſſe to eaſe & ſet free the minds of ingenuous and apprehenſive men from this needleſſe

thraldome, he that can prove it lawfull and juſt to claime the performance of a fit and matchable converſation, no leſſe eſſentiall to the prime ſcope of marriage then the gift of bodily conjunction, or els to have an equall plea of divorce as well as for that corporall deficiency; he that can but lend us the clue that windes out this labyrinth of ſervitude to ſuch a reaſonable and expedient liberty as this, deſerves to be reck'n'd among the publick benefactors of civill and humane life; above the inventors of wine and oyle; for this is a far deerer, far nobler, and more deſirable cheriſhing to mans life, unworthily expos'd to ſadnes and miſtake, which he ſhall vindicate. Not that licence and levity and unconſented breach of faith ſhould herein be countenanc't, but that ſome conſcionable, and tender pitty might be had of thoſe who have unwarily in a thing they never practiz'd before, made themſelves the bondmen of a luckles and helples matrimony. In which Argument he whoſe courage can ſerve him to give the firſt onſet, muſt look for two ſeverall oppoſitions: the one from thoſe who having ſworn themſelves to long cuſtom and the letter of the Text, will not out of the road: the other from thoſe whoſe groſſe and vulgar apprehenſions conceit but low of matrimoniall purpoſes, and in the work of male and female think they have all. Nevertheleſſe, it ſhall be here ſought by due wayes to be made appeare, that thoſe words of God in the inſtitution, promiſing a meet help againſt lonelines; and thoſe words of Chriſt, *That his yoke is eaſie and his burden light*, were not ſpoken in vaine; for if the knot of marriage may in no caſe be diſſolv'd but for adultery, all the burd'ns and ſervices of the Law are not ſo intolerable. This onely is deſir'd of them who are minded to judge hardly of thus maintaining, that they would be ſtill and heare all out, nor think it equall to anſwer deliberate reaſon with ſudden heat and noiſe; remembring this, that many truths now of reverend eſteem and credit, had their birth and beginning once from ſingular and private thoughts; while the moſt of men were otherwiſe poſſeſt; and had the fate at firſt to be generally exploded and exclaim'd on by many violent oppoſers; yet I may erre perhaps in ſoothing my ſelfe that this preſent truth reviv'd, will deſerve to be not ungently receiv'd on all hands; in that it undertakes the cure of an inveterate diſeaſe crept into the beſt part of humane ſocietie: and to doe this with no ſmarting corroſive, but with a ſmooth and pleaſing leſſon, which receiv'd hath the vertue to ſoften and diſpell rooted and knotty ſor-

rowes,

rowes; and without enchantment or ſpel us'd hath regard at once both to ſerious pitty, and upright honeſty; that tends to the redeeming and reſtoring of none but ſuch as are the object of compaſſion; having in an ill houre hamper'd themſelves to the utter diſpatch of all their moſt beloved comforts & repoſe for this lives term. But if wee ſhall obſtinately diſlike this new overture of unexpected eaſe and recovery, what remains but to deplore the frowardnes of our hopeles condition, which neither can endure the eſtate we are in, nor admit of remedy either ſharp or ſweet. Sharp we our ſelves diſtaſt; and ſweet, under whoſe hands we are, is ſcrupl'd and ſuſpected as too luſhious. In ſuch a poſture Chriſt found the *Jews*, who were neither won with the auſterity of *John the Baptiſt*, and thought it too much licence to follow freely the charming pipe of him who ſounded and proclaim'd liberty and reliefe to all diſtreſſes: yet Truth in ſome age or other will find her witnes, and ſhall be juſtify'd at laſt by her own children.

To remove therefore if it be poſſible, this great and ſad oppreſſion which through the ſtrictnes of a literall interpreting hath invaded and diſturb'd the deareſt and moſt peaceable eſtate of houſhold ſociety, to the over-burdning, if not the over-whelming of many Chriſtians better worth then to be ſo deſerted of the Churches conſiderate care, this poſition ſhall be laid down; firſt proving, then anſwering what may be objected either from Scripture or light of reaſon.

That indiſpoſition, unfitnes, or contrariety of mind arifing from a cauſe in nature unchangable, hindring and ever likely to hinder the main benefits of conjugall ſociety, which are ſolace and peace, is a greater reaſon of divorce then naturall frigidity, eſpecially if there be no children, and that there be mutuall conſent.

For all ſenſe and reaſon and equity reclaimes that any Law or Cov'nant how ſolemn or ſtrait ſoever, either between God and man, or man and man, though of Gods joyning, ſhould bind againſt a prime and principall ſcope of its own inſtitution, and of both or either party cov'nanting: neither can it be of force to ingage a blameles creature to his own perpetuall ſorrow, miſtak'n for his expected ſolace, without ſuffering charity to ſtep in and doe a conſeſt good work of parting thoſe whom nothing holds together, but this of Gods joyning, falſly ſuppos'd againſt the expreſſe end of his own ordinance. And what his chiefe end was of creating woman to be

joynd with man, his own inſtituting words declare, and are infallible to informe us what is mariage, and what is no mariage; unleſſe we can think them ſet there to no purpoſe: *It is not good*, ſaith he, *that man ſhould be alone; I will make him a helpmeet for him.* From which words ſo plain, leſſe cannot be concluded, nor is by any learned Interpreter, then that in Gods intention a meet and happy converſation is the chiefeſt and the nobleſt end of mariage; for we find here no expreſſion ſo neceſſarily implying carnall knowledg, as this prevention of lonelineſſe to the mind and ſpirit of man. And indeed it is a greater bleſſing from God, more worthy ſo excellent a creature as man is, and a higher end to honour and ſanctifie the league of mariage, whenas the ſolace and ſatisfaction of the minde is regarded and provided for before the ſenſitive pleaſing of the body. And with all generous perſons maried thus it is, that where the minde and perſon pleaſes aptly, there ſome unaccompliſhment of the bodies delight may be better born with, then when the minde hangs off in an uncloſing diſproportion, though the body be as it ought; for there all corporall delight will ſoon become unſavoury and contemptible. And the ſolitarines of man, which God had namely and principally orderd to prevent by mariage, hath no remedy, but lies under a worſe condition then the lonelieſt ſingle life; for in ſingle life the abſence and remotenes of a helper might inure him to expect his own comforts out of himſelfe, or to ſeek with hope; but here the continuall ſight of his deluded thoughts without cure, muſt needs be to him, if eſpecially his complexion incline him to melancholy, a daily trouble and paine of loſſe in ſome degree like that which Reprobates feel. Leſt therefore ſo noble a creature as man ſhould be ſhut up incurably under a worſe evill by an eaſie miſtake in that ordinance which God gave him to remedy a leſſe evill, reaping to himſelfe ſorrow while he went to rid away ſolitarines, it cannot avoyd to be concluded, that if the woman be naturally ſo of diſpoſition, as will not help to remove, but help to encreaſe that ſame God-forbidd'n lonelines which will in time draw on with it a generall diſcomfort and dejection of minde, not beſeeming either Chriſtian profeſſion or morall converſation, unprofitable and dangerous to the Common-wealth, when the houſhold eſtate, out of which muſt flouriſh forth the vigor and ſpirit of all publick enterprizes, is ſo ill contented and procur'd at home, and cannot be ſupported; ſuch a mariage can be no mariage whereto

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the moſt honeſt end is wanting: and the agrieved perſon ſhall doe more manly, to be extraordinary and ſingular in claiming the due right whereof he is fruſtrated, then to piece up his loſt contentment by viſiting the Stews, or ſtepping to his neighbours bed, which is the cõmon ſhift in this miſ-fortune, or els by ſuffering his uſefull life to waſt away and be loſt under a ſecret affliction of an unconſcionable ſize to humane ſtrength. How vain therefore is it, and how prepoſterous in the Canon Law to have made ſuch carefull proviſion againſt the impediment of carnall performance, and to have had no care about the unconverſing inability of minde, ſo defective to the pureſt and moſt ſacred end of mattrimony: and that the veſſell of voluptuous enjoyment muſt be made good to him that has tak'n it upon truſt without any caution, when as the minde from whence muſt flow the acts of peace and love, a far more precious mixture then the quinteſſence of an excrement, though it be found never ſo deficient and unable to perſorme the beſt duty of mariage in a cheerfull and agreeable converſation, ſhall be thought good anough, how ever flat & melancholious it be, and muſt ſerve though to the eternall diſturbance and languiſhing of him that complains him. Yet wiſdom and charity waighing Gods own inſtitution, would think that the pining of a ſad ſpirit wedded to lonelines ſhould deſerve to be free'd, aſwell as the impatience of a ſenſuall deſire ſo providently reliev'd. Tis read to us in the Liturgy, that *wee muſt not marry to ſatiſfie the fleſhly appetite, like brute beaſts that have no underſtanding*: but the Canon ſo runs, as if it dreamt of no other matter then ſuch an appetite to be ſatisfy'd; for if it happen that nature hath ſtopt or extinguiſht the veins of ſenſuality, that mariage is annull'd. But though all the faculties of the underſtanding and converſing part after triall appeare to be ſo ill and ſo averſly met through natures unalterable working, as that neither peace, nor any ſociable contentment can follow, tis as nothing, the contract ſhall ſtand as firme as ever, betide what will. What is this but ſecretly to inſtruct us, that however many grave reaſons are pretended to the maried life, yet that nothing indeed is thought worth regard therein, but the preſcrib'd ſatisfaction of an irrationall heat; which cannot be but ignominious to the ſtate of mariage, diſhonourable to the undervalu'd ſoule of man, and even to Chriſtian doctrine it ſelf. While it ſeems more mov'd at the diſappointing of an impetuous nerve, then at the ingenuous grievance of a minde unreaſonably yoakt:

yoakt; and to place more of mariage in the channell of concupiſcence, then in the pure influence of peace and love, whereof the ſouls lawfull contentment is the onely fountain.

But ſome are ready to object, that the diſpoſition ought ſeriouſly to be conſider'd before. But let them know again, that for all the warineſſe can be us'd, it may yet befall a diſcreet man to be miſtak'n in his choice: the ſobereſt and beſt govern'd men are leſt practiz'd in theſe affairs; and who knows not that the bashfull muteness of a virgin may oft-times hide all the unlivelines & naturall ſloth which is really unfit for converſation; nor is there that freedom of acceſſe granted or preſum'd, as may ſuffice to a perfect diſcerning till too late: and where any indiſpoſition is ſuſpected, what more uſuall then the perſwaſion of friends, that acquaintance, as it encreaſes, will amend all. And laſtly, it is not ſtrange though many who have ſpent their youth chaſtly, are in ſome things not ſo quick-ſighted, while they haſt too eagerly to light the nuptiall torch; not is it therfore that for a modeſt errot a man ſhould forfeit ſo great a happines, and no charitable means to releaſe him. Since they who have liv'd moſt looſely by reaſon of their bold accuſtoming, prove moſt ſucceſſull in their matches, becauſe their wild affections unſetling at will, have been as ſo many divorces to teach them experience. When as the ſober man honouring the appearance of modeſtie, and hoping well of every ſociall vertue under that veile, may eaſily chance to meet, if not with a body impenetrable, yet often with a minde to all other due converſation inacceſſible, and to all the more eſtimable and ſuperior purpoſes of marrimony uſeleſſe and almoſt liveles: and what a ſolace, what a fit help ſuch a conſort would be through the whole life of a man, is leſſe paine to conjecture then to have experience.

And that we may further ſee what a violent and cruell thing it is to force the continuing of thoſe together, whom God and nature in the gentleſt end of mariage never joyn'd, divers evils and extremities that follow upon ſuch a compulſion ſhall here be ſet in view. Of evils the firſt and greateſt is that hereby a moſt abſurd and raſh imputation is frxt upon God and his holy Laws, of conniving and diſpencing with open & common adultery among his choſen people; a thing which the rankeſt politician would think it ſhame and diſworſhip, that his Laws ſhould countenance; how and in what manner this comes to paſſe, I ſhall reſerve, till the courſe of me-

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thod brings on the unfolding of many Scriptures. Next the Law and Goſpel are hereby made liable to more then one contradiction, which I referre alſo thither. Laſtly, the ſupreme dictate of charitie is hereby many wayes neglected and violated. Which I ſhall forthwith addreſſe to prove. Firſt we know St *Paul* ſaith, *It is better to marry then to burne*. Mariage therefore was giv'n as a remedy of that trouble: but what might this burning mean? Certainly not the meer motion of carnall luſt, not the meer goad of a ſenſitive deſire; God does not principally take care for ſuch cattell. What is it then but that deſire which God put into *Adam* in Paradiſe before he knew the ſin of incontinence; that deſire which God ſaw it was not good that man ſhould be left alone to burn in; the deſire and longing to put off an unkindly ſolitarines by uniting another body, but not without a fit ſoule to his in the cheerfull ſociety of wedlock. Which if it were ſo needfull before the fall, when man was much more perfect in himſelf, how much more is it needfull now againſt all the ſorrows and caſualties of this life to have an intimate and ſpeaking help, a ready and reviving aſſociate in marriage: whereof who miſſes by chancing on a mute and ſpiritles mate, remains more alone then before, and in a burning leſſe to be contain'd then that which is fleſhly and more to be conſider'd; as being more deeply rooted even in the faultles innocence of nature. As for that other burning, which is but as it were the venom of a luſty and overabounding concoction, ſtrict life and labour with the abatement of a full diet may keep that low and obedient anough: but this pure and more inbred deſire of joyning to it ſelf in conjugall fellowſhip a fit converſing ſoul (which deſire is properly call'd love) *is ſtronger then death*, as the Spouſe of Chriſt thought, *many waters cannot quench it, neither can the floods drown it*. This is that rationall burning that mariage is to remedy, not to be allay'd with faſting, nor with any penance to be ſubdu'd, which how can he aſſwage who by miſ-hap hath met the unmeeteſt and moſt unſuitable mind? Who hath the power to ſtruggle with an intelligible flame, not in Paradiſe to be reſiſted, become now more ardent, by being fail'd of what in reaſon it lookt for; and even then moſt unquencht, when the importunity of a provender burning is well anough appeas'd; and yet the ſoul hath obtain'd nothing of what it juſtly deſires. Certainly ſuch a one forbidd'n to divorce, is in effect forbidd'n to marry, and compeli'd to greater difficulties then in a ſingle life; for if there be not a more

human burning which mariage must satisfy, or els may be dissolv'd, then that of copulation, mariage cannot be honorable for the meet reducing and terminating of lust between two; seeing many beasts in voluntary and chosen couples live together as unadulterously, and are as truly maried in that respect. But all ingenuous men will see that the dignity & blessing of mariage is plac't rather in the mutual enjoyment of that which the wanting soul needfully seeks, then of that which the plenteous body would jollily give away. Hence it is that *Plato* in his festivall discours brings in *Socrates* relating what he fain'd to have learnt from the Propheteſſe *Diotima*, how *Love* was the Sonne of *Penury*, begot of *Plenty* in the garden of *Jupiter*. Which divinely sorts with that which in effect *Moses* tells us; that *Love* was the Son of *Lonelines*, begot in Paradise by that sociable & helpfull aptitude which God implanted between man and woman toward each other. The same also is that burnining mention'd by S^t^. *Paul*, whereof marriage ought to be the remedy; the flesh hath other naturall and easie curbes which are in the power of any temperate man When therfore this originall and sinles *Penury* or *Lonelines* of the soul cannot lay it self down by the side of such a meet & acceptable union as God ordain'd in mariage, at least in some proportion, it cannot conceive and bring forth *Love*, but remains utterly unmaried under a formall wedlock, and still burnes in the proper meaning of S^t^. *Paul*. Then enters *Hate*, not that Hate that sins, but that which onely is naturall dissatisfaction and the turning aside from a mistaken object: if that mistake have done injury, it fails not to dismisse with recompence, for to retain still, and not be able to love, is to heap more injury. Thence that wise and pious Law of dismission, *Deut.* 24. 1. took beginning; of which anon: He therfore who lacking of his due in the most native and humane end of mariage, thinks it better to part then to live sadly and injuriously to that cherfull covnant (for not to be belov'd & yet retain'd, is the greatest injury to a gentle spirit) he I say who therfore seeks to part, is one who highly honours the maried life, and would not stain it; and the reasons which now move him to divorce, are equall to the best of those that could first warrant him to marry; for, as was plainly shewn, both the hate which now diverts him and the lonelines which leads him still powerfully to seek a fit help, hath not the least grain of a sin in it, if he be worthy to understand himself.

Thirdly, Yet it is next to be feard, if he must be still bound without

out reaſon by a deafe rigor, that when he perceives the juſt expectance of his mind defeated, he will begin even againſt Law to caſt about where he may find his ſatisfaction more compleat, unleſſe he be a thing heroically vertuous, and that are not the common lump of men for whom chiefly the Laws ought to be made, though not to their ſins, yet to their unſinning weaknesſes, it being above their ſtrength to endure the lonely eſtate, which while they ſhun'd, they are fal'n into. And yet there follows upon this a worſe temptation; for if he be ſuch as hath ſpent his youth unblamably, and layd up his chiefeſt earthly comforts in the enjoyment of a contented mariage, nor did neglect that furderance which was to be obtain'd herein by conſtant prayers, when he ſhall find himſelfe bound faſt to an uncomplying diſcord of nature, or, as it oft happens, to an image of earth and fleam, with whom he lookt to be the copartner of a ſweet and gladſome ſociety, and ſees withall that his bondage is now inevitable, though he be almoſt the ſtrongeſt Chriſtian, he will be ready to diſpair in vertue, and mutin againſt divine providence: and this doubtles is the reaſon of thoſe lapſes and that melancholy deſpair which we ſee in many wedded perſons, though they underſtand it not, or pretend other cauſes, becauſe they know no remedy, and is of extreme danger; therefore when human frailty ſurcharg'd, is at ſuch a loſſe, charity ought to venture much, and uſe bold phyſick, leſt an over-toſt faith endanger to ſhipwrack.

Fourthly, Mariage is a covnant the very being whereof conſiſts, not in a forc't cohabitation, and counterfeit performance of duties, but in unfained love and peace. Thence ſaith *Salomon* in *Eccleſiaſtes*, *Live joyfully with the wife whom thou loveſt, all thy dayes, for that is thy portion* How then, where we find it impoſſible to rejoyce or to love, can we obay this precept? how miſerably doe we defraud our ſelves of that comfortable portion which God gives us, by ſtriving vainly to glue an error together which God and nature will not joyne, adding but more vexation and violence to that bliſſull ſociety by our importunate ſuperſtition, that will not heark'n to S^t. *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* 7. who ſpeaking of mariage and divorce, determines plain anough in generall that God therein *hath cal'd us to peace* and not *to bondage*. Yea God himſelf commands in his Law more then once, and by his Prophet *Malachy*, as *Calvin* and the beſt tranſlations read, that *he who hates let him divorce*; that is, he who cannot love, or delight. I cannot therefore be ſo diffident, as not ſecurely to conclude, that he

who can receive nothing of the most important helps in mariage, beeing thereby disinabl'd to return that duty which is his, with a clear and hearty countnance; and thus continues to grieve whom he would not, and is no lesse griev'd, that man ought even for loves sake and peace to move divorce upon good and liberall conditions to the divorc't. And it is a lesse breach of wedlock to part with wise and quiet consent betimes, then still to soile and profane that mystery of joy and union with a polluting sadnes and perpetuall distemper; for it is not the outward continuing of marriage that keeps whole that covnant, but whosoever does most according to peace and love, whether in mariage, or in divorce, he it is that breaks mariage lest; it being so often written, that *Love onely is the fulfilling of every Commandment.*

Fifthly, As those Priests of old were not to be long in sorrow, or if they were, they could not rightly execute their function; so every true Christian in a higher order of Priesthood is a person dedicate to joy and peace, offering himselfe a lively sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, & there is no Christian duty that is not to be season'd and set off with cherfulnes; which in a thousand outward and intermitting crosses may yet be done well, as in this vale of teares, but in such a bosom affliction as this, which grindes the very foundations of his inmost nature, when he shall be forc't to love against a possibility, and to use dissimulation against his soul in the perpetuall and ceaseles duties of a husband, doubtles his whole duty of serving God must needs be blurr'd and tainted with a sad unpreparednesse and dejection of spirit, wherein God has no delight. Who sees not therfore how much more Christianly it would be to break by divorce that which is more brok'n by undue and forcible keeping, rather then *to cover the Altar of the Lord with continuall teares, so that he regardeth not the offring any more,* rather then that the whole worship of a Christian mans life should languish and fade away beneath the waight of an immeasurable grief and discouragement. And because some think the childer'n of a second mattimony succeeding a divorce would not be a holy seed, why should we not think them more holy then the offspring of a former ill-twisted wedlock, begott'n only out of a bestiall necessitie without any true love or contentment, or joy to their parents, so that in some sense we may call them the *childern of wrath* and anguish, which will as little conduce to their sanctifying, as if they had been bastards; for nothing more

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then diſturbance of minde ſuſpends us from approaching to God. Such a diſturbance eſpecially as both aſſaults our faith and truſt in Gods providence, and ends, if there be not a miracle of vertue on either ſide, not onely in bitternes and wrath, the canker of devotion, but in a deſperate and vitious careleſnes; when he ſees himſelf without fault of his train'd by a deceitfull bait into a ſnare of miſery, betrai'd by an alluring ordinance, and then made the thrall of heavines & diſcomfort by an undivorcing Law of God, as he erroneouſly thinks, but of mans iniquitie, as the truth is; for that God preferres the free and cherfull worſhip of a Chriſtian, before the grievous and exacted obſervance of an unhappy mariage, beſides that the generall maxims of Religion aſſure us, will be more manifeſt by drawing a paralel argument from the ground of divorcing an Idolatreſſe, which was, leſt ſhe ſhould alienate his heart from the true worſhip of God: and what difference is there whether ſhe pervert him to ſuperſtition by enticing ſorcery, or diſinable him in the whole ſervice of God through the diſturbance of her unhelpful and unfit ſociety, and ſo drive him at laſt through murmuring and deſpair to thoughts of Atheiſm: neither doth it leſſen the cauſe of ſeparating, in that the one willingly allures him from the faith, the other perhaps unwillingly drives him; for in the account of God it comes all to one that the wife looſes him a ſervant; and therefore by all the united force of the *Decalogue* ſhe ought to be disbanded, unleſſe we muſt ſet mariage above God and charitie, which is a doctrine of devils no leſſe then forbidding to marry.

And here by the way to illuſtrate the whole queſtion of divorce, ere this treatiſe end, I ſhall not be loath to ſpend a few lines in hope to give a full reſolv of that which is yet ſo much controverted, whether an Idolatrous heretick ought to be divorc't. To the reſolving whereof we muſt firſt know that the *Jews* were commanded to divorce an unbeleeving Gentile for two cauſes: firſt, becauſe all other Nations eſpecially the *Canaanites* were to them unclean. Secondly, to avoid ſeducement. That other Nations were to the *Jews* impure, even to the ſeparating of mariage, will appear out of *Exod.* 34. 16. *Deut.* 7. 3. 6. compar'd with *Ezra* 9. 2. alſo chap. 10. 10, 11. *Nehem.* 13. 30. This was the ground of that doubt raiſ'd among the *Corinthians* by ſome of the Circumciſion; Whether an unbeleever wer not ſtill to be counted an unclean thing, ſo as that they ought to divorce from ſuch a perſon. This doubt of theirs St. *Paul* re-

moves by an Evangelicall reason, having respect to that vision of S^t. *Peter*, wherein the distinction of clean and unclean beeing abolisht, all living creatures were sanctify'd to a pure and christian use, and mankind especially, now invited by a generall call to the covnant of grace. Therefore saith S^t. *Paul*, *The unbeleeving wife is sanctify'd by the husband*; that is, made pure and lawfull to his use; so that he need not put her away for fear lest her unbelief should defile him; but that if he found her love stil towards him, he might rather hope to win her. The second reason of that divorce was to avoid seducement, as is prov'd by comparing those places of the Law, to that which *Ezra* and *Nehemiah* did by divine warrant in compelling the *Jews* to forgoe their wives. And this reason is morall and perpetuall in the rule of Christian faith without evasion. Therefore saith the Apostle 2 *Cor.* 6. *Mis-yoke not together with Infidels*, which is interpreted of mariage in the first place. And although the former legall pollution be now don off, yet there is a spirituall contagion in Idolatry as much to be shunn'd; and though seducement were not to be fear'd, yet where there is no hope of converting, there alwayes ought to be a certain religious aversation and abhorring, which can no way sort with mariage. Therefore saith S^t. *Paul*, *What fellowship hath righteousnesse with unrighteousnesse? what communion hath light with darknesse? what concord hath Christ with Beliall? what part hath he that beleeveth with an Infidell?* And in the next vetse but one, he moralizes and makes us liable to that command of *Isaiah*, *Wherfore come out from among them, and be ye separate saith the Lord, touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive ye.* And this command thus Gospelliz'd to us, hath the same force with that whereon *Ezra* grounded the pious necessitie of divorcing.

Upon these principles I answer, that a right beleever ought to divorce an idolatrous heretick unlesse upon better hopes: however that it is in the beleevers choice to divorce or not.

The former part will be manifest thus; first, an apostate idolater whether husband or wife seducing was to die by the decree of God, *Deut.* 13. 6. 9. that mariage therefore God himself dis-joyns; for others born idolaters the morall reason of their dangerous keeping and the incommunicable antagony that is between Christ and *Beliall*, will be sufficient to enforce the commandment of those two inspir'd reformers, *Ezra* and *Nehemiah*, to put an Idolater away as well under the Gospel.

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The latter part, that although there be no ſeducement fear'd, yet if there be no hope giv'n, the divorce is lawfull, will appear by this, that idolatrous mariage is ſtill hatefull to God, therefore ſtill it may be divorc't by the pattern of that warrant that *Ezra* had; and by the ſame everlaſting reaſon: neither can any man give an account wherfore, if thoſe whom God joyns, no man may ſeparate, it ſhould not follow, that, whom he joyns not, but hates to joyn, thoſe man ought to ſeparate: but ſaith the Lawyer, that which ought not have been don, once don availes. I anſwer, this is but a crochet of the law, but that brought againſt it, is plain Scripture. As for what Chriſt ſpake concerning divorce, tis confeſt by all knowing men, he meant onely between them of the ſame faith. But what ſhall we ſay then to S^t. *Paul*, who ſeems to bid us not divorce an Infidell willing to ſtay? We may ſafely ſay thus; that wrong collections have been hitherto made out of thoſe words by modern Divines. His drift, as was heard before, is plain: not to command our ſtay in mariage with an Infidel, that had been a flat renouncing of the religious and morall law; but to inform the *Corinthians* that the body of an unbeleever was not defiling, if his deſire to live in Chriſtian wedlock ſhew'd any likelihood that his heart was opening to the faith: and therefore advices to forbear departure ſo long, till nothing have bin neglected to ſet forward a converſion: this I ſay he adviſes, and that with certain cautions; not commands: If we can take up ſo much credit for him, as to get him beleev'd upon his own word; for what is this els but his counſell in a thing indifferent, *to the reſt ſpeak I, not the Lord*; for though it be true that the Lord never ſpake it, yet from S^t. *Pauls* mouth wee ſhould have took it as a command, had not himſelf forewarn'd us, and diſclaim'd; which, notwithſtanding if we ſhall ſtill avouch to be a command, he palpably denying it, this is not to expound S^t. *Paul*, but to out-face him. Neither doth it follow, but that the Apoſtle may interpoſe his judgement in a caſe of Chriſtian libertie without the guilt of adding to Gods word. How doe we know mariage or ſingle life to be of choice, but by ſuch like words as theſe, *I ſpeak this by permiſſion, not of commandment, I have no command of the Lord, yet I give my judgement.* Why ſhall not the like words have leave to ſignifie a freedom in this our preſent queſtion, though *Beza* deny. Neither is the Scripture hereby leſſe inſpir'd becauſe S^t. *Paul* confeſſes to have writt'n therein what he had not of command; for we grant that the Spirit of God led him thus to expreſſe

preſſe himſelf to chriſtian prudence in a matter which God thought beſt to leave uncommanded. *Beza* therefore muſt be warily read when he taxes S^t. *Auſtin* of Blaſphemy, for holding that S^t. *Paul* ſpake heer as of a thing indifferent: but if it muſt be a command, I ſhall yet the more evince it to be a command that we ſhould heerin be left free: and that out of the Greek word us'd in the 12. *v.* which inſtructs us plainly there muſt be a joynt aſſent and good liking on both ſides; he that will not deprave the Text, muſt thus render it; *If a brother have an unbeleeving wife, and ſhe joyn in conſent to dwell with him* (which cannot utter leſſe to us then a mutuall agreement) let him not put her away for the meer ſurmiſe of Judaicall uncleannes: and the reaſon follows, for the body of an Infidell is not polluted, neither to benevolence, nor to procreation. Moreover, this note of mutuall complacency forbids all offer of ſeducement; which to a perſon of zeal cannot be attempted without great offence, if therfore ſeducement be fear'd, this place hinders not divorce. Another caution was put in this ſuppoſed command, of not bringing the beleever into *bondage* heerby, which doubtles might prove extreme, if chriſtian liberty and conſcience were left to the humor of a pagan ſtaying at pleaſure to play with, or to vexe and wound with a thouſand ſcandals and burdens above ſtrength to bear: if therefore the conceived hope of gaining a ſoul come to nothing, then charity commands that the beleever be not wearied out with endles waiting under many grievances ſore to his ſpirit; but that reſpect be had rather to the preſent ſuffering of a true Chriſtian, then the uncertain winning of an obdur'd heretick; for this alſo muſt appertain to the precept, *Let every man wherein he is call'd therein abide with God*, *v.* 24. that is, ſo walking in his inferior calling of mariage, as not by dangerous ſubjection to that ordinance, to hinder and diſturb the higher calling of his chriſtianitie. Laſt, whether this be a command or an advice, we muſt look that it be ſo underſtood as not to contradict the leaſt point of morall religion that God hath formerly commanded, otherwiſe what doe we, but ſet the morall Law and the Goſpel at civill war together: and who then ſhall be able to ſerve thoſe two maſters?

Now whether Idolatry or adultery be the greateſt violation of mariage, if any demand, let him thus conſider, that among Chriſtian Writers touching matrimony, there be three chief ends therof agreed on; Godly ſociety, next civill, and thirdly, that of the ma-

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riage-bed. Of theſe the firſt in name to be the higheſt and moſt excellent, no baptiz'd man can deny; nor that Idolatry ſmites directly againſt this prime end, nor that ſuch as the violated end is, ſuch is the violation: but he who affirms adultery to be the higheſt breach, affirms the bed to be the higheſt of mariage, which is in truth a groſſe and boriſh opinion, how common ſoever; as farre from the countnance of Scripture, as from the light of all clean philoſophy, or civill nature. And out of queſtion the cherfull help that may be in mariage toward ſanctity of life, is the pureſt and ſo the nobleſt end of that contract: but if the particular of each perſon be conſider'd, then of thoſe three ends which God appointed, that to him is greateſt which is moſt neceſſary: and mariage is then moſt brok'n to him, when he utterly wants the fruition of that which he moſt ſought therin, whether it were religious, civill, or corporall ſociety. Of which wants to do him right by divorce only for the laſt and meaneſt, is a pervers injury, and the pretended reaſon of it as frigid as frigidity it ſelf, which the *Code* and canon are only ſenſible of. Thus much of this controverſie. I now return to the former argument. And having ſhewn, that diſproportion, contrariety, or numneſſe of minde may juſtly be divorc't, by proving already that the prohibition therof oppoſes the expreſſe end of Gods inſtitution, ſuffers not mariage to ſatisfie that intellectuall and innocent deſire which God himſelf kindl'd in man to be the bond of wedlock, but only to remedy a ſublunary and beſtial burning, which frugal diet without mariage would eaſily chaſt'n. Next that it drives many to tranſgreſſe the conjugall bed, while the ſoule wanders after that ſatisfaction which it had hope to find at home, but hath miſ't. Or els it ſits repining even to Atheiſm; finding it ſelf hardly dealt with, but miſdeeming the cauſe to be in Gods Law, which is in mans unrighteous ignorance. I have ſhew'd alſo how it unties the inward knot of mariage, which is peace & love (if that can be unti'd which was never knit) while it aimes to keep faſt the outward formalitie; how it lets periſh the Chriſtian man, to compell impoſſibly the maried man.

The ſixt place declares this prohibition to be as reſpectles of human nature, and therfore is not of God. He teaches that an unlawfull mariage may be lawfully divorc't. And that thoſe who having throughly diſcern'd each others diſpoſition which oftimes cannot be till after matrimony, ſhall then finde a powerfull reluctance

stance and recoile of nature on either side blasting all the content of their mutuall society, that such persons are not lawfully maried (to use the Apostles words) *Say I these things as a man, or saith not the Law also the same? for it is writt'n,* Deut. 22. *Thou shalt not sowe thy vineyard with divers seeds, lest thou defile both. Thou shalt not plow with an Oxe and an Asse together*, and the like. I follow the pattern of S^t. *Pauls* reasoning; *Doth God care for Asses and Oxen*, how ill they yoke together, *or is it not said altogether for our sakes? for our sakes no doubt this is writt'n.* Yea the Apostle himself in the forecited 2 *Cor.*6. 14. alludes from that place of *Deut.* to forbid mis-yoking mariage; as by the Greek word is evident, though he instance but in one example of mis-matching with an Infidell: yet next to that, what can be a fouler incongruity, a greater violence to the reverend secret of nature, then to force a mixture of minds that cannot unite, & to sowe the furrow of mans nativity with seed of two incoherent and uncombining dispositions. Surely if any noysomnes of body soon destroys the sympathy of mind to that work, much more will the antipathy of minde infuse it self into all the faculties and acts of the body, to render them invalid, unkindly, and even unholy against the fundamentall law book of nature; which *Moses* never thwarts, but reverences: therfore he commands us to force nothing against sympathy or naturall order, no not upon the most abject creatures; to shew that such an indignity cannot be offer'd to man without an impious crime. And when he forbids all unmatchable and unmingling natures to consort, doubtles by all due consequence, if they chance through misadventure to be miscoupl'd, he bids them part asunder, as persons whom God never joyn'd.

Seventhly, The Canon Law and Divines consent, that if either party be found contriving against the others life, they may be sever'd by divorce; for a sin against the life of mariage is greater then a sin against the bed: the one destroys, the other but defiles: The same may be said touching those persons who beeing of a pensive nature and cours of life, have summ'd up all their solace in that free and lightsom conversation which God & man intends in mariage: wherof when they see themselves depriv'd by meeting an unsociable consort, they ofttimes resent one anothers mistake so deeply, that long it is not ere grief end one of them. When therfore this danger is foreseen that the life is in perill by living together, what matter is it whether helples greef, or wilfull practice be the cause?

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This is certain that the preſervation of life is more worth then the compulſory keeping of mariage; and it is no leſſe then cruelty to force a man to remain in that ſtate as the ſolace of his life, which he and his friends know will be either the undoing or the diſheartning of his life. And what is life without the vigor and ſpiritfull exerciſe of life? how can it be uſefull either to private or publick employment? ſhall it be therfore quite dejected, though never ſo valuable, and left to moulder away in heavines for the ſuperſtitious and impoſſible performance of an ill driv'n bargain? nothing more inviolable then vows made to God, yet we read in *Numbers* that if a wife had made ſuch a vow, the meer will and authority of her husband might break it; how much more may he break the error of his own bonds with an unfit and miſtak'n wife, to the ſaving of his welfare, his life, yea his faith and vertue from the hazard of over-ſtrong temptations; for if man be Lord of the Sabbath, to the curing of a Fevor, can he be leſſe then Lord of mariage in ſuch important cauſes as theſe?

Eighthly, It is moſt ſure that ſome ev'n of thoſe who are not plainly defective in body, are yet deſtitute of all other mariagable gifts; and conſequently have not the calling to marry; unleſſe nothing be requiſite therto but a meer inſtrumentall body; which to affirm, is to that unanimous Covnant a reproach: yet it is as ſure that many ſuch not of their own deſire, but by perſwaſiō of ffriends, or not knowing themſelves do often enter into wedlock; where finding the difference at length between the duties of a maried life, and the gifts of a ſingle life; what unfitnes of mind, what weariſomnes, what ſcruples and doubts to an incredible offence and diſpleaſure are like to follow between, may be ſoon imagin'd: whom thus to ſhut up and immure in an unequall and miſchoſen match, is not a cours that chriſtian wiſdome and tenderнes ought to uſe. As for the cuſtom that ſome parents and guardians have of forcing mariages, it will be better to ſay nothing of ſuch a ſavage inhumanity, but only this, that the Law which gives not all freedome of divorce to any creature endu'd with reaſon ſo aſſaſinated, is next in cruelтie.

Ninthly, I ſuppoſe it will be allow'd us that mariage is a human ſociety, and that all human ſociety muſt proceed from the mind rather then the body, els it would be but a kind of animal or beaſtiſh meeting; if the mind therfore cannot have that due company by

mariage, that it may reaſonably and humanly deſire, that mariage can be no human ſociety, but a certain formalitie, or gilding over of little better then a bruti∫h congreſſe, and ſo in very wiſdom: and purenes to be diſſolv'd.

But mariage is more then human, *the covnant of God*, Pro. 2. 17. therfore man cannot diſſolve it. I anſwer, if it be more then human ſo much the more it argues the chief ſociety therof to be in the ſoul rather then in the body, and the greateſt breach therof to be unfitnes of mind rather then defect of body; for the body can have left affinity in a covnant more then human, ſo that the reaſon of diſſolving holds good the rather. Again, I anſwer, that the Sabbath is a higher inſtitution, a command of the firſt Table, for the breach wherof God hath far more and oftner teſtify'd his anger then for divorces, which from *Moſes* till after the captivity he never took diſpleaſure at, nor then neither, if we mark the Text, and yet as oft as the good of man is cõcern'd, he not only permits, but commands to break the Sabbath. What covnant more contracted with God, & leſſe in mans power then the vow which hath once paſt his lips? yet if it be found raſh, if offenſive, if unfruitfull either to Gods glory or the good of man, our doctrin forces not error and unwillingnes irkſomly to keep it, but counſels wiſdom and better thoughts boldly to break it; therfore to injoyn the indiſſoluble keeping of a mariage found unfit againſt the good of man both ſoul and body, as hath been evidenc't, is to make an Idol of mariage, to advance it above the worſhip of God and the good of man, to make it a tranſcendent command, above both the ſecond and the firſt Table, which is a moſt prodigious doctrine.

Next, Whereas they cite out of the *Proverbs*, that it is *the covnant of God*, and therfore more then human, that conſequence is manifeſtly falſe; for ſo the covnant which *Zedechiah* made with the infidell King of *Babel* is call'd *the covnant of God*, Ezech. 17. 19. which would be ſtrange to hear counted more then a human covnant. So every covnant between man and man, bound by oath, may be call'd the covnant of God, becauſe God therin is atteſted. So of mariage he is the author and the witnes; yet hence will not follow any divine aſtriction more then what is ſubordinate to the glory of God and the main good of either party; for as the glory of God & their eſteemed fitnes one for the other, was the motive which led them both at firſt to think without other revelation that God had joyn'd them

them together: So when it ſhall be found by their apparent unfitnes, that their continuing to be man and wife is againſt the glory of God and their mutuall happines, it may aſſure them that God never joyn'd them; who hath reveil'd his gratious will not to ſet the ordinance above the man for whom it was ordain'd: not to canonize mariage either as a tyranneſſe or a goddeſſe over the enfranchiz'd life and ſoul of man; for wherin can God delight, wherin be worſhipt, wherin be glorify'd by the forcible continuing of an improper and ill-yoking couple; He that lov'd not to ſee the diſparity of ſeverall cattell at the plow, cannot be pleas'd with any vaſt unmeetnes in mariage. Where can be the peace and love which muſt invite God to ſuch a houſe, may it not be fear'd that the not divorcing of ſuch a helples diſagreement, will be the divorcing of God finally from ſuch a place? But it is a triall of our patience they ſay: I grant it: but which of *Jobs* afflictions were ſent him with that law, that he might not uſe means to remove any of them if he could. And what if it ſubvert our patience and our faith too? Who ſhall anſwer for the periſhing of all thoſe ſouls periſhing by ſtubborn expoſitions of particular and inferior precepts, againſt the general and ſupreme rule of charitie? They dare not affirm that mariage is either a Sacrament, or a myſtery, though all thoſe ſacred things give place to man, and yet they inveſt it with ſuch an awfull ſanctity, and give it ſuch adamantine chains to bind with, as if it were to be worſhipt like ſome *Indian* deity, when it can conferre no bleſſing upon us, but works more and more to our miſery. To ſuch teachers the ſaying of S^t. *Peter* at the Councell of *Jeruſalem* will do well to be apply'd: *Why tempt ye God to put a yoke upon the necks* of Chriſtian men, which neither the *Jews*, Gods ancient people, *nor we are able to bear:* and nothing but unwary expounding hath brought upon us. To theſe conſiderations this alſo may be added as no improbable conjecture; ſeeing that ſort of men who follow *Anabaptiſm*, *Familiſm*, *Antinomianiſm*, and other *fanatick* dreams, be ſuch moſt commonly as are by nature addicted to a zeal of Religion, of life alſo not debauſht, and that their opinions having full ſwinge, do end in ſatisfaction of the fleſh, it may come with reaſon into the thoughts of a wiſe man, whether all this proceed not partly, if not cheefly, from the reſtraint of ſome lawfull liberty, which ought to be giv'n men, and is deny'd them. As by Phyſick we learn in menſtruous bodies, where natures current hath been ſtopt, that the ſuffocation

focation and upward forcing of ſome lower part, affects the head and inward ſenſe with dotage and idle fancies. And on the other hand, whether the reſt of vulgar men not ſo religiouſly profeſſing, doe not give themſelves much the more to whordom and adulteries; loving the corrupt and venial diſcipline of clergy Courts, but hating to hear of perfect reformation: when as they foreſee that then fornication ſhall be auſterely cenſur'd, adultery puniſht, and mariage the appointed refuge of nature, though it hap to be never ſo incongruous & diſpleaſing, muſt yet of force be worn out, when it can be to no other purpoſe but of ſtrife and hatred, a thing odious to God. This may be worth the ſtudy of skilful men in *Theology*, & the reaſon of things: and laſtly to examin whether ſome undue and ill grounded ſtrictnes upon the blameles nature of man be not the cauſe in thoſe places where already reformation is, that the diſcipline of the Church ſo often and ſo unavoidably brok'n, is brought into contempt and deriſion. And if it be thus, let thoſe who are ſtill bent to hold this obſtinate *literality*, ſo prepare themſelves as to ſhare in the account for all theſe tranſgreſſions; when it ſhall be demanded at the laſt day by one who will ſcanne and ſift things with more then a literal wiſdom of enquiry; for if theſe reaſons be duely ponder'd, and that the Goſpel is more jealous of laying on exceſſive burdens then ever the Law was, leſt the ſoul of a Chriſtian which is ineſtimable, ſhould be over-tempted and caſt away, conſidering alſo that many properties of nature, which the power of regeneration it ſelf never alters, may cauſe diſlike of converſing even between the moſt ſanctify'd, which continually grating in harſh tune together may breed ſome jarre and diſcord, and that end in rancor and ſtrife, a thing ſo oppoſite both to mariage and to Chriſtianitie, it would perhaps be leſſe ſcandal to divorce a natural diſparity, then to link violently together an unchriſtian diſſention, committing two enſnared ſouls inevitably to kindle one another, not with the fire of love, but with a hatred *inconcileable*, who were they diſſeverd would be ſtraight friends in any other relation. But if an *alphabetical* ſervility muſt be ſtill urg'd, it may ſo fall out, that the true Church may unwittingly uſe as much cruelty in forbidding to divorce, as the Church of Antichriſt doth wilfully in forbidding to marry.

But what are all theſe reaſonings worth, will ſome reply, when as the words of Chriſt are plainly againſt all divorce, except in caſe of fornication; let ſuch remember as a thing not to be deny'd, that all

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places of Scripture wherin juſt reaſon of doubt ariſes from the letter, are to be expounded by conſidering upon what occaſion every thing is ſet down: and by comparing other Texts. The occaſion which induc't our Saviour to ſpeak of divorce, was either to convince the extravagance of the Phariſes in that point, or to give a ſharp and vehement anſwer to a tempting queſtion. And in ſuch caſes that we are not to repoſe all upon the literall terms of ſo many words, many inſtances will teach us: Wherin we may plainly diſcover how Chriſt meant not to be tak'n word for word, but like a wiſe Phyſician, adminiſtring one exceſſe againſt another to reduce us to a perfect mean: Where the Phariſes were ſtrict, there Chriſt ſeems remiſſe; where they were too remiſſe, he ſaw it needfull to ſeem moſt ſevere: in one place he cenſures an unchaſt look to be adultery already committed: another time he paſſes over actuall adultery with leſſe reproof then for an unchaſt look; not ſo heavily condemning ſecret weaknes, as open malice: So heer he may be juſtly thought to have giv'n this rigid ſentence againſt divorce, not to cut off all remedy from a good man who finds himſelf cõſuming away in a diſconſolate and uninjoy'd matrimony, but to lay a bride upon the bold abuſes of thoſe over-weening Rabbies; which he could not more effectually doe, then by a counterſway of reſtraint, curbing their wild exorbitance almoſt into the other extreme; as when we bow things the contrary way, to make them come to thir naturall ſtraitnes. And that this was the only intention of Chriſt is moſt evident; if we attend but to his own words and proteſtation made in the ſame Sermon not many verſes before he treats of divorcing, that he came not to abrogate from the Law *one jot or tittle*, and denounces againſt them that ſhall ſo teach. So that the queſtion of divorce following upon this his open profeſſion, muſt needs confirm us, that what ever els in the politicall Law of more ſpeciall relation to the *Jews*, might ceaſe to us, yet that of thoſe precepts concerning divorce, not one of them was repeal'd by the doctrine of Chriſt; for if theſe our Saviours words inveigh againſt all divorce, and condemn it as adultery, except it be for adultery, and be not rather underſtood againſt the abuſe of thoſe divorces permitted in the Law, then is that Law of *Moſes*, Deut. 24. 1. not only repeal'd & wholly anull'd againſt the promiſe of Chriſt & his known profeſſion, not to meddle in matters judicial, but that which is more ſtrange, the very ſubſtance and purpoſe of that Law is contradicted and

and convinc't both of injuſtice & impurity, as having authoriz'd & maintain'd legall adultery by ſtatute. *Moſes* alſo cannot ſcape to be guilty of unequall and unwiſe decrees, puniſhing one act of ſecret adultery by death, and permitting a whole life of open adultery by Law. And albeit Lawyers write that ſome politicall Edicts, though not approv'd, are yet allow'd to the ſcum of the people and the neceſſitie of the times; theſe excuſes have but a weak pulſe: for firſt we read, not that the ſcoundrel people, but the choiceſt, the wiſeſt, the holieſt of that nation have frequently us'd theſe laws, or ſuch as theſe. Secondly, Be it yeelded that in matters not very bad or impure, a human law-giver may ſlacken ſomthing of that which is exactly good, to the diſpoſition of the people and the times: but if the perfect, the pure, the righteous law of God, for ſo are all his ſtatutes and his judgements, be found to have allow'd ſmoothly without any certain reprehenſion, that which Chriſt afterward declares to be adultery, how can wee free this Law from the horrible endightment of beeing both impure, unjuſt, and fallacious. Neither will it ſerv to ſay this was permitted for the hardnes of thir hearts, in that ſenſe, as it is uſually explain'd, for the Law were then but a corrupt and erroneous School-maſter, teaching us to daſh againſt a vital maxim of religion, by doing foul evil in hope of ſome uncertain good. Wee cannot therfore with ſafety thus confine the free ſimplicity of our Saviours meaning to that which meerly amounts from ſo many letters; whereas it can conſiſt neither with his former, and cautionary words, nor with the ſcope of charity, commanding by his expreſſe commiſſion in a higher ſtrain. But all rather of neceſſity muſt be underſtood as only againſt the abuſe of that wiſe and ingenuous liberty which *Moſes* gave, and to terrify a roaving conſcience from ſinning under that pretext.

Others think to evade the matter, by not granting any Law of divorce, but only a diſpenſation; which is contrary to the words of Chriſt, who himſelf calls it a Law *Mark* 10. 5. But I anſwer, admitting it to be a diſpenſation, yet this is a certain rule, that ſo long as the cauſe remains, the diſpenſation ought: Let it be ſhewn therfore either in the nature of the Goſpel, or of man, why this diſpenſation ſhould be made void. The Goſpel indeed exhorts to higheſt perfection; but bears with weakeſt infirmity more then the Law. The nature of man is as weak, and yet as hard: and that weakues and hardnes as unfit, and as unteachable to be harſhly dealt with as ever.

ever. I but, ſay they, there is a greater portion of ſpirit powr'd upon the Goſpel which requires perfecter obedience. But that cõſequence is deceavable; for it is the Law that is the exacter of our obedience ev'n under the Goſpel; how can it then exact concerning divorce, that which it never exacted before? The Goſpel is a covnant reveling grace, not commanding a new morality, but aſſuring juſtification by faith only, contented if we endeavour to ſquare our moral duty by thoſe wiſe and equal Moſaick rules, which were as perfect as ſtrict and as unpardonable to the *Jews*, as to us; otherwiſe the law were unjuſt, giving grace of pardon without the Goſpel, or if it give allowance without pardon, it would be diſſolute and deceitfull; ſaying in general, *do this and live*; and yet deceaving and damning with obſcure and hollow permiſſions. Wee find alſo by experience that the Spirit of God in the Goſpel hath been alwaies more effectual in the illumination of our minds to the gift of faith, then in the moving of our wills to any excellence of vertue, either above the *Jews* or the Heathen. Hence thoſe indulgences in the Goſpel; *All cannot receive this ſaying*; *Every man hath his proper gift*, with ſtrict charges not to lay on yokes which our Fathers could not bear.

But this that *Moſes* ſuffer'd for the hardnes of thir hearts he ſuffer'd not by that enacted diſpenſation, farre be it, but by a meer accidental ſufferance of undiſcover'd hypocrites, who made ill uſe of that Law; for that God ſhould enact a diſpenſation for hard hearts to do that wherby they muſt live in priviledg'd adultery, however it go for the receav'd opinion, I ſhall ever diſſwade my ſelf from ſo much hardihood as to beleeve: Certainly this is not the manner of God, whoſe pure eyes cannot behold, much leſſe his perfect Laws diſpence with ſuch impurity; and if we conſider well, we ſhall finde that all diſpenſations are either to avoid wors inconveniences, or to ſupport infirm conſciences for a time; but that a diſpenſatiõ ſhould be as long liv'd as a Law to tolerate adultery for hardnes of heart, both ſins perhaps of like degree, and yet this obdurate diſeaſe cannot be conceav'd how it is the more amended by this unclean remedy, is a notion of that extravagance from the ſage principles of piety, that who conſiders throughly, cannot but admire, how this hath been digeſted all this while. What may we doe then to ſalve this ſeeming inconſiſtence? I muſt not diſſemble that I am confident it can be don no other way then this.

Moſes, *Deut.* 24. 1. eſtabliſht a grave and prudent Law, full of moral equity, full of due conſideration towards nature, that cannot be reſiſted; a Law conſenting with the Laws of wiſeſt men and civileſt nations. That when a man hath maried a wife, if it come to paſſe he cannot love her by reaſon of ſome diſpleaſing natural quality or unfitnes in her, let him write her a bill of divorce. The intent of which Law undoubtedly was this, that if any good and peaceable man ſhould diſcover ſome helples diſagreement or diſlike either of mind or body, wherby he could not cherfully perform the duty of a husband without the perpetual diſſembling of offence and diſturbance to his ſpirit, rather then to live uncomfortably and unhappily both to himſelf and to his wife, rather then to continue undertaking a duty which he could not poſſibly diſcharge, he might diſmiſſe her whom he could not tolerably, and ſo not conſcionably retain. And this Law the Spirit of God by the mouth of *Salomon*, Pro. 30. 21. 23. teſtifies to be a good and a neceſſary Law; by granting it, that to *dwell with a hated woman* (for *hated* the hebrew word ſignifies) *is a thing that nature cannot endure*. What follows then but that Law muſt remedy what nature cannot undergoe. Now that many licentious and hard-hearted men took hold of this Law to cloak thir bad purpoſes, is nothing ſtrange to beleeve. And theſe were they, not for whom *Moſes* made the Law, God forbid, but whoſe hardnes of heart taking ill advantage by this Law he held it better to ſuffer as by accident, where it could not be detected, rather then good men ſhould looſe their juſt and lawfull privilege of remedy: Chriſt therfore having to anſwer theſe tempting Phariſes, according as his cuſtom was, not meaning to inform their proud ignorance what *Moſes* did in the true intent of the Law, which they had ill cited, ſuppreſſing the true cauſe for which *Moſes* gave it, and extending it to every ſlight matter, tells them thir own, what *Moſes* was forc't to ſuffer by their abuſe of his Law. Which is yet more plain if wee mark that our Saviour in the fifth of *Matth.* cites not the Law of *Moſes*, but the Phariſaical tradition falſly grounded upon that law. And in thoſe other places, *Chap.* 19. & *Mark*, 10. the Phariſes cite the Law, but conceale the wiſe and human reaſon there expreſt; which our Saviour corrects not in them whoſe pride deſerv'd not his inſtruction, only returns them what is proper to them; *Moſes for the hardnes of your hearts ſuffer'd you*, that is, ſuch as you *to put away your wives*; and *to you he wrote this precept* for that cauſe, which

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(*to you*) muſt be read with an impreſſion, and underſtood limitedly of ſuch as cover'd ill purpoſes under that Law: for it was ſeaſonable that they ſhould hear their own unbounded licence rebuk't, but not ſeaſonable for them to hear a good mans requiſit liberty explain'd. And to amaze them the more, becauſe the Phariſes thought it no hard matter to fulfill the Law, he draws them up to that unſeparable inſtitution which God ordaind in the beginning before the fall when man and woman were both perfect, and could have no cauſe to ſeparate: juſt as in the ſame Chap. he ſtands not to contend with the arrogant young man who boaſted his obſervance of the whole Law, whether he had indeed kept it or not, but ſkrues him up higher, to a task of that perfection, which no man is bound to imitate. And in like manner that pattern of the firſt inſtitution he ſet before the opinionative Phariſes to dazle them and not to bind us. For this is a ſolid rule that every command giv'n with a reaſon, binds our obedience no otherwiſe then that reaſon holds. Of this ſort was that command in *Eden*; *Therfore ſhall a man cleave to his wife, and they ſhall be one fleſh*: which we ſee is no abſolute command, but with an inference, *Therfore*: the reaſon then muſt be firſt conſider'd, that our obedience be not miſ-obedience. The firſt is, for it is not ſingle, becauſe the wife is to the husband *fleſh of his fleſh*, as in the verſe going before. But this reaſon cannot be ſufficient of it ſelf; for why then ſhould he for his wife leave his father and mother, with whom he is farre *more fleſh of fleſh and bone of bone*, as being made of their ſubſtance. And beſides it can be but a ſorry and ignoble ſociety of life, whoſe unſeparable injunction depends meerly upon fleſh & bones. Therfore we muſt look higher, ſince Chriſt himſelf recalls us to the beginning, and we ſhall finde that the primitive reaſon of never divorcing, was that ſacred and not vain promiſe of God to remedy mans lonelines by *making him a help meet for him*, though not now in perfection, as at firſt, yet ſtill in proportion as things now are. And this is repeated *ver.* 20. when all other creatures were fitly aſſociated & brought to *Adam*, as if the divine power had bin in ſome care and deep thought, becauſe *there was not yet found a help meet for man*. And can wee ſo ſlightly depreſſe the all-wiſe purpoſe of a deliberating God, as if his conſultatiõ had produc't no other good for man, but to joyn him with an accidentall companion of propagation, which his ſudden word had already made for every beaſt? nay a worſe leſſe good to man it will be found, if ſhe muſt at all aventures

be faſten'd upon him individually. And therefore even plain ſenſe and equity, and, which is above them both, the all-interpreting voice of Charity her ſelf cries loud that this primitive reaſon, this conſulted promiſe of God *to make a meet help*, is the onely cauſe that gives authority to this command of not divorcing, to be a command. And it might be further added, that if the true definition of a wife were askt in good earneſt, this clauſe of being *a meet help* would ſhew it ſelf ſo neceſſary, and ſo eſſential in that demonſtrative argument, that it might be logically concluded, therfore ſhee who naturally & perpetually is no meet help, can be no wife; which cleerly takes away the difficulty of diſmiſſing ſuch a one. Hence is manifeſt, that ſo much of the firſt inſtitution as our Saviour mentions, for he mentions not all, was but to quell and put to nonplus the tempting Phariſes; and to lay open their ignorance and ſhallow underſtanding of the Scriptures. For, ſaith he, *have ye not read that he which made them at the beginning, made them male and female, and ſaid, for this cauſe ſhall a man cleave to his wife?* which theſe blind uſurpers of *Moſes* chair could not gainſay: as if this ſingle reſpect of male and female were ſufficient againſt a thouſand inconveniences and miſchiefs to clogge a rational creature to his endles ſorrow unrelinquiſhably. What if they had thus anſwer'd, Maſter if thou intend to make wedlock as inſeparable as it was from the beginning, let it be made alſo a fit ſociety, as God intended it, which wee ſhall ſoon underſtand it ought to be, if thou recite the whole reaſon of the Law. doubtles our Saviour had applauded their juſt anſwer. For then they had expounded this command of Paradiſe, even as *Moſes* himſelf expounds it by his laws of divorce, that is, with due and wiſe regard had to the premiſes and reaſons of the firſt command, according to which, without unclean and temporizing permiſſions he inſtructs us in this imperfect ſtate what wee may lawfully doe about divorce.

But if it be thought that the Diſciples offended at the rigor of Chriſts anſwer, could yet obtain no mitigation of the former ſentence pronounc't to the Phariſes, it may be fully anſwer'd, that our Saviour continues the ſame reply to his Diſciples, as men leaven'd with the ſame cuſtomary licence, which the Phariſes maintain'd; and diſpleas'd at the removing of a traditional abuſe wherto they had ſo long not unwillingly bin us'd: it was no time then to contend with their ſlow and prejudicial belief, in a thing wherin an ordinary mea-

meaſure of light in Scripture, with ſome attention might afterwards inform them well anough. After theſe conſiderations to take a law out of Paradiſe giv'n in time of original perfection, and to take it barely without thoſe juſt and equal inferences and reaſons which mainly eſtabliſh it, nor ſo much as admitting thoſe needfull & ſafe allowances wherwith *Moſes* himſelf interprets it to the faln condition of man, argues nothing in us but raſhnes and contempt of thoſe means that God left us in his pure and chaſt Law, without which it will not be poſſible for us to perform the ſtrict impoſition of this command: or if we ſtrive beyond our ſtrength, wee ſhall ſtrive to obay it otherwiſe then God commands it. And lamented experience daily teaches the bitter and vain fruits of this our preſumption, forcing men in a thing wherin wee are not able to judge either of their ſtrength, or their ſufferance. Whom neither one vice nor other by naturall addiction, but only mariage ruins, which doubtles is not the fault of that ordinance, for God gave it as a bleſſing, nor always of mans miſ-chooſing; it beeing an error above wiſdom to prevent, as examples of wiſeſt men ſo miſtaken manifeſt: it is the fault therfore of a pervers opinion that will have it continu'd in deſpight of nature and reaſon, when indeed it was never truly joynd. All thoſe expoſiters upon the fifth of *Mat.* confeſſe the Law of *Moſes* to be the Law of the Lord, wherin no addition or diminution hath place, yet coming to the point of divorce, as if they fear'd not to be call'd leſt in the kingdom of heav'n, any ſlight evaſion will content them to reconcile thoſe contradictions which they make between Chriſt and *Moſes*, between Chriſt and Chriſt.

Some will have it no Law, but the granted premiſes of another Law following, contrary to the words of Chriſt *Mark.* 10. 5. and all other tranſlations of graveſt authority, who render it in form of a Law; agreeable to *Malach.* 2. 16. as it is moſt anciently and modernly expounded. Beſides the bill of divorce declares it to be orderly & legal. And what avails this to make the matter more righteous, if ſuch an adulterous condition ſhall be mention'd to build a Law upon without either puniſhment or ſo much as forbidding, they pretend it is implicitly reprov'd in theſe words, *Deut.* 24. 4. *after ſhe is defil'd*; but who ſees not that this defilement is only in reſpect of returning to her former husband after an intermixt mariage; els why was not the *defiling* condition firſt forbidden, which would

would have sav'd the labour of this after law; nor is it seemly or piously attributed to the justice of God and his known hatred of sin, that such a hainous fault as this through all the Law should be only wip't with an implicit and oblique touch (which yet is falsly suppos'd) & that his peculiar people should be let wallow in adulterous mariages almost two thousand yeares for want of a direct Law to prohibit them; tis rather to be confidently assum'd that this was granted to apparent necessities, as being of unquestionable right and reason in the Law of nature, in that it still passes without inhibition, ev'n when greatest cause is giv'n us to expect it should be directly forbidd'n. But it was not approv'd, so much the wors that it was allow'd, as if sin had over mastered the law of God, to conform her steddy and strait rule to sins crookednes, which is impossible. Besides, what needed a positive grant of that which was not approv'd? it restrain'd no liberty to him that could but use a little fraud, it had bin better silenc't, unlesse it were approv'd in some case or other. Can wee conceave without vile thoughts, that the majesty and holines of God could endure so many ages to gratifie a stubborn people in the practice of a foul polluting sin, and could he expect they should abstain, he not signifying his mind in a plain command, at such time especially when he was framing their laws and them to all possible perfection? But they were to look back to the first institution, nay rather why was not that individual institution brought out of Paradise, as was that of the Sabbath, and repeated in the body of the Law, that men might have understood it to be a command? for that any sentence that bears the resemblance of a precept, set there so out of place in another world at such a distance from the whole Law, and not once mention'd there, should be an obliging command to us, is very disputable, and perhaps it might be deny'd to be a command without further dispute: however, it commands not absolutely, as hath bin clear'd, but only with reference to that precedent promise of God, which is the very ground of his institution; if that appeare not in some tolerable sort, how can wee affirm such a matrimony to be the same which God instituted! In such an accident it will best behove our sobernes to follow rather what moral *Sinai* prescribes equal to our strength, then fondly to think within our strength all that lost Paradise relates.

Another while it shall suffice them, that it was not a moral, but a judicial Law, and so was abrogated. Nay rather was not abrogated

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becauſe judicial; which Law the miniſtery of Chriſt came not to deale with. And who put it in mans power to exempt, where Chriſt ſpeaks in general of not abrogating *the leaſt jot or tittle*, & in ſpecial not that of divorce, becauſe it follows among thoſe Laws which he promis'd expreſly not to abrogate, but to vindicate from abuſive traditions. And if we mark the 31. *ver.* of *Mat.* the 5. he there cites not the Law of *Moſes*, but the licencious Gloſſe which traduc't the Law; that therfore which he cited, that he abrogated, and not only abrogated but diſallow'd and flatly condemn'd, which could not be the Law of *Moſes*; for that had bin foulely to the rebuke of his great ſervant. To abrogate a Law made with Gods allowance, had bin to tell us only that ſuch a Law was now to ceaſe, but to refute it with an ignominious note of civilizing adultery, caſts the reproofe, which was meant only to the Phariſes, ev'n upō him who made the Law. But yet if that be judicial which belongs to a civil Court, this Law is leſſe judicial then nine of the ten Commandements; for antiquaries affirm that divorces proceeded among the *Jews* without knowledge of the Magiſtrate, only with hands and ſeales under the teſtimony of ſome Rabbies to be then preſent. And it was indeed a pure moral *economical* Law, too haſtily imputed of toletating ſin; being rather ſo clear in nature and reaſon, that it was left to a mans own arbitrement to be determin'd between God and his own conſcience. And that power which Chriſt never took from the maſter of family, but rectify'd only to a right and wary uſe at home, that power the undiſcerning Canoniſt hath improperly uſurpt into his Court-leet, and beſcribbl'd with a thouſand trifling impertinencies, which yet have fil'd the life of man with ſerious trouble and calamity. Yet grant it were of old a judicial Law, it need not be the leſſe moral for that, being converſant, as it is, about vertue or vice. And our Saviour diſputes not heer the judicature, for that was not his office, but the morality of divorce, whether it be adultery or no; if therfore he touch the law of *Moſes* at all, he touches the moral part therof; which is abſurd to imagine that the covnant of grace ſhould reform the exact and perfect law of works, eternal and immutable; or if he touch not the Law at all, then is not the allowance therof diſallow'd to us.

Others are ſo ridiculous as to allege that this licence of divorcing was giv'n them becauſe they were ſo accuſtom'd in Egypt. As if an ill cuſtom were to be kept to all poſterity; for the diſpenſation is both

both universal and of time unlimited, and so indeed no dispensation at all; for the over-dated dispensation of a thing unlawfull, serves for nothing but to encrease hardnes of heart, and makes men but wax more incorrigible, which were a great reproach to be said of any Law or allowance that God should give us. In these opinions it would be more Religion to advise well, lest wee make our selves juster then God, by censuring rashly that for sin which his unspotted Law without rebuke allows, and his people without being conscious of displeasing him have us'd. And if we can think so of *Moses*, as that the Jewish obstinacy could compell him to write such impure permissions against the rule of God & his own judgement, doubtles it was his part to have protested publickly what straits he was driv'n to, and to have declar'd his conscience when he gave any Law against his minde; for the Law is the touch-stone of sin and of conscience, must not be intermixt with corrupt indulgences; for then it looses the greatest praise it has, of being certain and infallible, not leading into error, as all the *Jews* were led by this connivence of *Moses*, if it were a connivence. But still they fly back to the primitive institution, and would have us re-enter Paradise against the sword that guards it. Whom I again thus reply to, that the place in *Genesis* contains the description of a fit and perfect mariage, with an interdict of ever divorcing such a union; but where nature is discovet'd to have never joyn'd indeed, but vehemently seeks to part, it cannot be there conceav'd that God forbids it; nay he commands it both in the Law and in the Prophet *Malachy*, which is to be our rule. And *Perkins* upon this chap. of *Mat.* deals plainly that our Saviour heer confutes not *Moses* Law, but the false glosses that deprav'd the Law; which being true, *Perkins* must needs grant, that somthing then is left to that law which Christ found no fault with; and what can that be but the conscionable use of such liberty as the plain words import? So that by his own inference, Christ did not absolutely intend to restrain all divorces to the only cause of adultery. This therfore is the true scope of our Saviours will, that he who looks upon the Law concerning divorce, should look also back upon the first institution, that he may endeavour what is perfectest: and he that looks upon the institution should not refuse as sinfull and unlawfull those allowances which God affords him in his following Law; lest he make himself purer then his maker; and presuming above strength, slip into temptations irrecoverably. For this

is wonderfull, that in all thoſe decrees concerning mariage, God ſhould never once mention the prime inſtitution to diſſwade them from divorcing; and that he ſhould forbid ſmaller ſins as oppoſite to the hardnes of their hearts, and let this adulterous matter of divorce paſſe ever unreprov'd. This is alſo to be marvell'd at, that ſeeing Chriſt did not condemn whatever it was that *Moſes* ſuffer'd, and that therupon the Chriſtian Magiſtrate permits uſury and open ſtews, & heer with us adultery to be ſo ſlightly puniſht, which was puniſht by death to theſe hard-hearted *Jews*, why wee ſhould ſtrain thus at the matter of divorce, which may ſtand ſo much with charity to permit, and make no ſcruple to allow uſury, eſteem'd to be ſo much againſt charity. But this it is to embroile our ſelves againſt the righteous and all wiſe judgements and ſtatutes of God; which are not variable and contrarious, as wee would make them, one while permitting and another while forbidding, but are moſt conſtant and moſt harmonious each to other. For how can the uncorrupt and majeſtick law of God, bearing in her hand the wages of life and death, harbour ſuch a repugnance within her ſelf, as to requite an unexempted and impartial obedience to all her decrees, either from us or from our Mediator, and yet debaſe her ſelf to faulter ſo many ages with circumcis'd adulteries, by unclean and ſlubbering permiſſions.

Yet *Beza's* opinion is that a politick law, but what politick law I know not, unleſſe one of *Matchiavel's*, may regulate ſin; may bear indeed, I grant, with imperfection for a time, as thoſe Canons of the Apoſtles did in ceremonial things: but as for ſin, the eſſence of it cannot conſiſt with rule; and if the law fall to regulate ſin, and not to take it utterly away, it neceſſarily confirms and eſtabliſhes ſin. To make a regularity of ſin by law, either the law muſt ſtraiten ſin into no ſin, or ſin muſt crook the law into no law. The judicial law can ſerve to no other end then to be the protector and champion of Religion and honeſt civility, as is ſet down plainly *Rom.* 13. and is but the arme of moral law, which can no more be ſeparate from Juſtice then Juſtice from vertue: their office alſo in a different manner ſteates the ſame cours; the one teaches what is good by precept, the other unteaches what is bad by puniſhment. But if we give way to politick diſpenſations of lewd uncleanneſſe, the firſt good conſequence of ſuch a relaxe will be the juſtifying of papal ſtews, joyn'd with a toleration of epidemick whordom. Juſtice muſt revok from

the end of her authority, and become the patron of that wherof she was created the punisher. The example of usury, which is commonly alleg'd makes against the allegation which it brings, as I touch'd before. Besides that usury, so much as is permitted by the Magistrate, and demanded with common equity, is neither against the word of God, nor the rule of charity, as hath been often discus't by men of eminent learning and judgement. There must be therfore some other example found out to shew us wherin civil policy may with warrant from God settle wickednes by law, & make that lawfull which is lawlesse. Although I doubt not but upon deeper consideration, that which is true in Physick, will be found as true in polity: that as of bad pulses those that beat most in order, are much wors then those that keep the most inordinate circuit, so of popular vices those that may be committed legally, will be more pernicious then those which are left to their own cours at peril, not under a stinted priviledge to sin orderly and regularly, which is an implicit contradiction, but under due and fearles execution of punishment. The political law, since it cannot regulate vice, is to restraine it, by using all means to root it out: but if it suffer the weed to grow up to any pleasurable or contented higth upon what pretext soever, it fastens the root, it prunes and dresses vice, as if it were a good plant. Lastly, if divorce were granted, as he sayes, not for men, but to release afflicted wives, certainly it is not only a dispensation, but a most mercifull Law: and why it should not yet be in force, beeing wholy as needfull, I know not what can be in cause but sensless cruelty. Esteeming therfore to have asserted thus an injur'd law of *Moses* from the unwarranted and guilty name of a dispensation, to be again a most equall and requisite law, wee have the word of Christ himself, that he came not to alter the least tittle of it; and signifies no small displeasure against him that shall teach to doe so. On which relying, I shall not much waver to affirm that those words which are made to intimate, as if they forbad all divorce but for adultery (though *Moses* have constituted otherwise) those words tak'n circumscriptly, without regard to any precedent law of *Moses* or attestation of Christ himself, or without care to preserve those his fundamental and superior laws of nature and charitie, to which all other ordinances give up their seals, are as much against plain equity, and the mercy of religion, as those words of *Take, eat, this is my body*, elementally understood, are against nature and sense.

And

And ſurely the reſtoring of this degraded law, hath well recompenc't the diligence was us'd, by enlightning us further to finde out wherfore Chriſt took off the Phariſes from alleging the law, and referr'd them to the firſt inſtitution, not condemning, altering, or aboliſhing this precept of divorce, which is plainly moral, for that were againſt his truth, his promiſe, and his prophetick office; but knowing how fallaciouſly they had cited, and conceal'd the particular and natural reaſon of the law, that they might juſtifie any froward reaſon of their own, he lets goe that ſophiſtry unconvinc't, for that had bin to teach them els, which his purpoſe was not. And ſince they had tak'n a liberty which the law gave not, he amuſes & repells their tempting pride with a perfection of paradiſe, which the law requir'd not; not thereby to oblige our performance to that whereto the law never enjoyn'd the fal'n eſtate of man; for if the firſt inſtitution muſt make wedlock, whatever happen, inſeparable to us, it muſt make it alſo as perfect, as meerly helpfull, and as comfortable as God promis'd it ſhould be, at leaſt in ſome degree, otherwiſe it is not equal or proportionable to the ſtrength of man, that he ſhould be reduc't into ſuch indiſſoluble bonds to his aſſured miſery, if all the other conditions of that covnant be manifeſtly alter'd.

Next he ſaith, *they muſt be one fleſh*, which, when all conjecturing is don, wil be found to import no more but only to make legitimate and good the carnal act, which els might ſeem to have ſomthing of pollution in it: And inferrs thus much over, that the fit union of their ſouls be ſuch as may even incorporate them to love and amity; but that can never be where no correſpondence is of the minde; may inſtead of beeing one fleſh, they will be rather two carkaſſes chain'd unnaturally together; or as it may happ'n, a living ſoule bound to a dead corps, a puniſhment too like that inflicted by the tyrant *Mezentius*; ſo little worthy to be receav'd as that remedy of lonelines which God meant us. Since wee know it is not the joyning of another body will remove lonelines, but the uniting of another compliable mind; and that it is no bleſſing but a torment, nay a baſe and brutiſh condition to be one fleſh, unleſſe where nature can in ſome meaſure fix a unity of diſpoſition.

Laſtly, Chriſt himſelf tells us who ſhould not be put aſunder, namely, thoſe whom God hath joyn'd. A plain ſolutio of this great controverſie, if men would but uſe their eyes; for when is it that God may be ſaid to joyn, when the parties and their friends conſent?

ſent? No ſurely; for that may concurre to leudeſt ends, or is it when Church-rites are finiſht? Neither; for the efficacy of thoſe depends upon the preſuppoſed fitnes of either party. Perhaps after carnal knowledge? leſt of all: for that may joyn perſons whom neither law nor nature dares joyn; tis left, that only then, when the minds are fitly diſpos'd, and enabl'd to maintain a cherfull converſation, to the ſolace and love of each other, according as God intended and promis'd in the very firſt foundation of matrimony, *I will make him a help meet for him*; for ſurely what God intended and promis'd, that only can be thought to be of his joyning, and not the contrary. So likewiſe the Apoſtle witneſseth 1 *Cor.* 7. 15. that in mariage *God hath call'd us to peace*. And doubtles in what reſpect he hath call'd us to mariage, in that alſo he hath joyn'd us. The reſt whom either diſproportion or deadnes of ſpirit, or ſomthing diſtaſtfull & averſ in the immutable bent of nature renders uncõjugal, error may have joyn'd; but God never joyn'd againſt the meaning of his own ordinance. And if he joynd them not, then is there no power above their own conſent to hinder them from unjoyning; when they cannot reap the ſobereſt ends of beeing together in any tolerable ſort. Neither can it be ſaid properly that ſuch twain were ever divorc't, but onely parted from each other, as two perſons unconjunctive, and unmariable together. But if, whom God hath made a fit help, frowardnes or private injuries have made unfit, that beeing the ſecret of mariage God can better judge then man, neither is man indeed fit or able to decide this matter; however it be, undoubtedly a peaceſull divorce is a leſſe evil and leſſe in ſcandal then a hateful hard-hearted and deſtructive continuance of mariage in the judgement of *Moſes*, and of Chriſt, that juſtifies him in chooſing the leſſe evil, which if it were an honeſt & civil prudence in the law, what is there in the Goſpel forbidding ſuch a kind of legal wiſdom, though wee ſhould admit the common Expoſiters.

Having thus unfoulded thoſe ambiguous reaſõs, wherwith Chriſt, as his wont was, gave to the Phariſes that came to ſound him, ſuch an anſwer as they deſerv'd, it will not be uneaſie to explain the ſentence it ſelf that now follows; *Whoſoever ſhall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and ſhall marry another, committeth adultery.* Firſt therfore I will ſet down what is obſerv'd by *Grotius* upon this point, a man of general learning. Next I produce what mine own thoughts gave me, before I had ſeen his annotations. *Origen*, ſaith he,

he,notes that Chriſt nam'd adultery rather as one example of other like caſes, then as one only exception. And that it is frequent not only in human but in divine Laws to expreſſe one kind of fact, whereby other cauſes of like nature may have the like plea: as *Exod.*21.18,19,20.26. *Deut.*19.5. And from the maxims of civil Law he ſhews that ev'n in ſharpeſt penal laws,the ſame reaſon hath the ſame right: and in gentler laws, that from like cauſes to like the Law interprets rightly. But it may be objected,ſaith he,that nothing deſtroys the end of wedlock ſo much as adultery. To which he anſwers that mariage was not ordain'd only for copulation, but for mutual help and comfort of life; and if we mark diligently the nature of our Saviours commands, wee ſhall finde that both their beginning and their end conſiſts in charity: whoſe will is that wee ſhould ſo be good to others, as that wee be not cruel to our ſelves. And hence it appears why *Mark* and *Luke* and S^t. *Paul* to the *Cor.* mentioning this precept of Chriſt, adde no exception; becauſe exceptions that ariſe from natural equity are included ſilently under general terms: it would be conſider'd therfore whether the ſame equity may not have place in other caſes leſſe frequent. Thus farre he. From hence, is what I adde: firſt, that this ſaying of Chriſt, as it is uſually expounded, can be no law at all, that man for no cauſe ſhould ſeparate but for adultery, except it be a ſupernatural law,not binding us, as wee now are: had it bin the law of nature, either the *Jews*, or ſome other wiſe and civil Nation would have pres't it: or let it be ſo; yet that law *Deut.*24.1. wherby a man hath leave to part, whenas for juſt and natural cauſe diſcover'd he cannot love, is a law ancienter, and deeper ingrav'n in blameles nature then the other: therfore the inſpired Law-giver *Moſes* took care that this ſhould be ſpecify'd and allow'd: the other he let vaniſh in ſilence, not once repeated in the volume of his law, ev'n as the reaſon of it vaniſht with Paradiſe. Secondly, this can be no new command,for the Goſpel enjoyns no new morality, ſave only the infinit enlargement of charity, which in this reſpect is call'd the *new Commandement* by S^t. *John*; as being the accompliſhment of every command. Thirdly, It is no command of perfection further then it partakes of charity, which is *the bond of perfection* Thoſe commands therfore which compell us to ſelf-cruelty above our ſtrength, ſo hardly will help forward to perfection, that they hinder & ſet backward in all the common rudiments of Chriſtianity;as was prov'd. It being thus

clear, that the words of Christ can be no kind of command, as they are vulgarly tak'n, wee shall now see in what sense they may be a command, and that an excellent one, the same with that of *Moses*, and no other. *Moses* had granted that only for a natural annoyance, defect, or dislike, whether in body or mind, (for so the Hebrew words plainly note) which a man could not force himself to live with, he might give a bill of divorce; thereby forbidding any other cause wherin amendment or reconciliation might have place. This law the Pharises depraving, extended to any slight contentious cause whatsoever. Christ therfore seeing where they halted, urges the negative part of that law, which is necessarily understood (for the determinate permission of *Moses* binds them from further licence) and checking their supercilious drift, declares that no accidental, temporary, or reconciliable offence, except fornication, can justifie a divorce: he touches not heer those natural and perpetual hindrances of society, which are not to be remov'd: for such, as they are apt'est to cause an unchangeable offence, so are they not capable of reconcilement, because not of amendment. Thus is *Moses* law heer solidly confirm'd; and those causes which he permitted, not a jot gainsaid. And that this is the true meaning of this place, I prove also by no lesse an Author then S^t. *Paul* himself, 1 *Cor.* 7. 10, 11. upon which text Interpreters agree, that the Apostle only repeats the precept of Christ: where while he speaks of *the wives reconcilement to her husband*, he puts it out of controversie, that our Saviour meant only matters of strife and reconcilement; of which sort he would not that any difference should be the occasion of divorce, except fornication.

But because wee know that Christ never gave a judicial law, and that the word *fornication* is variously significant in Scripture, it will be much right don to our Saviours words, to consider diligently, whether it be meant heer, that nothing but actual fornicatiō, prov'd by witnes, can warrant a divorce; for so our Canon Law judges. Nevertheless, as I find that *Grotius* on this place hath observ'd, the Christian Emperours, *Theodosius* the second, and *Justinian*, men of high wisdom and reputed piety, decree'd it to be a divorsive fornication, if the wife attempted either against the knowledge, or obstinately against the will of her husband, such things as gave open suspicion of adulterizing; as the wilfull haunting of feasts, and invitations with men not of her neer kindred, the lying forth of her hous without

without probable cauſe, the frequenting of Theaters againſt her husbands mind, her endeavour to prevent, or deſtroy conception. Hence that of *Jerom*, *Where fornication is ſuſpected, the wife may lawfully be divorc'd*; not that every motion of a jealous mind ſhould be regarded, but that it ſhould not be exacted to prove all things by the viſibility of Law-witneſſing, or els to hood-wink the mind: for the Law is not able to judge of theſe things but by the rule of equity, and by permitting a wiſe man to walk the middle-way of a prudent circumſpection, neither wretchedly jealous, nor ſtupidly and tamely patient. To this purpoſe hath *Grotius* in his notes. He ſhews alſo that fornicatiõ is tak'n in Scripture for ſuch a continual headſtrong behaviour, as tends to plain contempt of the husband: and proves it out of *Judges* 19. 2. where the Levites wife is ſaid to have playd the whoor againſt him; which *Joſephus* and the *Septuagint*, with the *Chaldaan*, interpret only of ſtubbornnes and rebellion againſt her husband: and to this I adde that *Kimchi* and the two other Rabbies who gloſſe the text, are in the ſame opinion. *Ben Gerſom* reaſons that had it bin whoordom a Jew and a Levite would have diſdain'd to fetch her again. And this I ſhall cõtribute, that had it bin whoordom ſhe would have choſen any other place to run to, then to her fathers houſe, it being ſo infamous for an hebrew woman to play the harlot, and ſo opprobrious to the parents. Fornication then in this place of the *Judges*, is underſtood for ſtubborn diſobedience againſt the husband, and not for adultery. A ſin of that ſudden activity, as to be already committed, when no more is don, but only lookt unchaſtly: which yet I ſhould be loath to judge worthy a divorce, though in our Saviours language it be call'd adultery. Nevertheleſſe, when palpable and frequent ſignes are giv'n, the law of God *Num.* 5 ſo far gave way to the jealouſie of a man, as that the woman ſet before the Sanctuary with her head uncover'd, was adjur'd by the Prieſt to ſwear whether ſhe were fals or no; and conſtrain'd to drink that *bitter water* with an undoubted *curſe of rottenneſſe, and trympany* to follow, un'eſſe ſhe were innocent. And the jealous man had not bin guiltles before God, as ſeems by the laſt *ver.* if having ſuch a ſuſpicion in his head he ſhould neglect this trial, which, if to this day it be not to be us'd, or be thought as uncertain of effect, as our antiquated law of *Ordalium*, yet all equity will judge that many adulterous demeanors which are of lewd ſuſpicion and example, may be held ſufficient to incurre a divorce; though the act

it

it self hath not bin prov'd. And seeing the generosity of our Nation is so, as to account no reproach more abominable, then to be nick-nam'd the husband of an adultresse, that our law should not be as ample as the law of God to vindicate a man from that ignoble sufferance, is our barbarous unskilfulnes, not considering that the law should be exasperated according to our estimation of the injury. And if it must be suffer'd till the act be visibly prov'd, *Salomon* himself whose judgement will be granted to surpasse the acutenes of any Canonist, confesses *Prov.* 30. 19, 20. that for the act of adultery, it is as difficult to be found as the *track of an Eagle in the air, or the way of a ship in the Sea*: so that a man may be put to unmanly indignities, ere it be found out. This therfore may be anough to inform us that divorsive adultery is not limited by our Saviour to the utmost act, and that to be attested always by eye-witnesse: but may be extended also to divers obvious actions, which either plainly lead to adultery, or give such presumtion wherby sensible men may suspect the deed to be already don. And this the rather may be thought, in that our Saviour chose to use the word *fornication*, which word is found to signify other matrimonial transgressions of main breach to that Covnant besides actual adultery. Thus at length wee see both by this and by other places, that there is scarse any one saying in the Gospel, but must be read with limitations and distinctions, to be rightly understood; for Christ gives no full comments or continu'd discourses, but scatters the heavnly grain of his doctrin like pearle heer and there, which requires a skilfull and laborious gatherer; who must compare the words he finds, with other precepts, with the end of every ordinance, and with the general *analogy* of Evangelick doctrine: otherwise many particular sayings would be but strange repugnant riddles; & the Church would offend in granting divorce for frigidity, which is not heer excepted with adultery, but by them added. And this was it undoubtedly which gave reason to *St. Paul* of his own authority, as he professes, and without command from the Lord, to enlarge the seeming construction of those places in the Gospel, by adding a case wherin a person deserted which is somthing lesse then divorc't, may lawfully marry again. And having declar'd his opinion in one case, he leavs a furder liberty for christian prudence to determin in cases of like importance; using words so plain as are not to be shifted off, *that a brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases*; adding also, that

God

God hath call'd us to peace in mariage. Now if it be plain that a Chriſtian may be brought into unworthy *bondage*, and his religious *peace* not only interrupted now and then, but perpetually and finally hinderd in wedlock by miſ-yoking with a diverſity of nature as well as of religion, the reaſons of St *Paul* cannot be made ſpecial to that one caſe of infidelity, but are of equal moment to a divorce wherever Chriſtian liberty and peace are without fault equally obſtructed. That the ordinance which God gave to our comfort, may not be pinn'd upon us to our undeſerved thraldom; to be coop't up as it were in mockery of wedlock, to a perpetual betrothed lonelines and diſcontent, if nothing wors enſue. There beeing nought els of mariage left between ſuch, but a diſpleaſing and forc't remedy againſt the ſting of a brute deſire; which fleſhly accuſtoming without the ſouls union and commixture of intellectual delight, as it is rather a ſoiling then a fulfilling of mariage-rites, ſo is it anough to imbaſe the mettle of a generous ſpirit, and ſinks him to a low and vulgar pitch of endeavour in all his actions, or, which is wors, leavs him in a diſpairing plight of abject and hard'n'd thoughts: which condition, rather then a good man ſhould fall into, a man uſefull in the ſervice of God and mankind, Chriſt himſelf hath taught us to diſpence with the moſt ſacred ordinances of his worſhip; even for a bodily healing to diſpence with that holy & ſpeculative reſt of Sabbath; much more then with the erroneous obſervance of an ill-knotted mariage for the ſuſtaining of an overcharg'd faith and perſeverance.

And though bad cauſes would take licence by this pretext, if that cannot be remedied, upon their conſcience be it, who ſhall ſo doe. This was that hardnes of heart, & abuſe of a good law which *Moſes* was content to ſuffer rather then good men ſhould not have it at all to uſe needfully. And he who to run after one loſt ſheep left ninety nine of his own flock at random in the Wildernes, would little perplex his thought for the obduring of nine hunder'd and ninety ſuch as will daily take wors liberties whether they have permiſſion or not. To conclude, as without charity God hath giv'n no commandment to men, ſo without it, neither can men rightly beleeve any commandment givn. For every act of true faith, as well that whereby we beleeve the law, as that whereby we endeavour the law is wrought in us by charity: according to that in the divine hymne of St *Paul*, 1 Cor. 13. *Charity beleeveth all things*: not as if ſhe were

so credulous, which is the exposition hitherto current, for that were a trivial praise, but to teach us that charity is the high governesse of our belief, and that wee cannot safely assent to any precept writ'n in the Bible, but as charity commends it to us. Which agrees with that of the same Apostle to the *Ephes.*4.14,15. where he tels us that the way to get a sure undoubted knowledge of things, is to hold that for truth, which accords most with charity. Whose unerring guidance and conduct having follow'd as a loadstarre with all diligence and fidelity in this question, I trust, through the help of that illuminating Spirit which hath favor'd me, to have don no every daies work: in asserting after many ages the words of Christ with other Scriptures of great concernment from burdensom & remotsles obscurity, tangl'd with manifold repugnances, to their native lustre and consent between each other: heerby also dissolving tedious and *Gordian* difficulties, which have hitherto molested the Church of God, and are now decided not with the sword of *Alexander*, but with the immaculate hands of charity, to the unspeakable good of Christendom. And let the extrem literalist sit down now & revolve whether this in all necessity be not the due result of our Saviours words: or if he persist to be otherwise opinion'd, let him well advise, lest thinking to gripe fast the Gospel, he be found instead with the canon law in his fist: whose boistrous edicts tyrannizing the blessed ordinance of mariage into the quality of a most unnatural and unchristianly yoke, have giv'n the flesh this advantage to hate it, & turn aside, oft-times unwillingly, to all dissolute uncleanesse, even till punishment it self is weary and overcome by the incredible frequency of trading lust, and uncontrould'd adulteries. Yet men whose Creed is custom, I doubt not but will be still endeavouring to hide the sloth of thir own timorous capacities with this pretext, that for all this tis better to endure with patience and silence this affliction which God hath sent. And I agree, tis true; if this be exhorted and not enjoyn'd; but withall, it will be wisely don to be as sure as may be, that what mans iniquity hath laid on, be not imputed to Gods sending; least under the colour of an affected patience wee detain our selves at the gulphs mouth of many hideous temptations; not to be withstood without proper gifts, which as *Perkins* well notes, God gives not ordinarily, no not to most earnest prayers. Therfore wee pray, *Lead us not into temptation*, a vain prayer, if having led our selves thither, wee love to stay in that perilous condition.

condition. God ſends remedies, as well as evills; under which he who lies and groans, that may lawfully acquitt himſelf, is acceſſory to his own ruin: nor will it excuſe him, though he ſuffer through a ſluggiſh fearfulnes to ſearch throughly what is lawfull, for feare of diſquieting the ſecure falſity of an old opinion. Who doubts not but that it may be piouſly ſaid to him who would diſmiſs frigidity, bear your trial, take it as if God would have you live this life of continence: if he exhort this, I hear him as an Angel, though he ſpeak without warrant: but if he would compell me, I know him for Satan. To him who divorces an adultereſſe, Piety might ſay; Pardon her; you may ſhew much mercy, you may win a ſoul: yet the law both of God & man leavs it freely to him. For God loves not to plow out the heart of our endeavours with over-hard and ſad tasks. God delights not to make a drudge of vertue, whoſe actions muſt be all elective and unconſtrain'd. Forc't vertu is as a bolt overſhot, it goes neither forward nor backward, & does no good as it ſtands. Seeing therfore that neither Scripture nor reaſon hath laid this unjuſt auſterity upon divorce, we may reſolv that nothing els hath wrought it, but that letter-bound ſervility of the Canon Doctors, ſuppoſing mariage to be a Sacrament, and out of the art they have to lay unneceſſary burdens upon all men, to make a fair ſhew in the fleſhly obſervance of matrimony, though peace & love withall other conjugal reſpects fare never ſo ill. And indeed the Papiſts who are the ſtricteſt forbidders of divorce, are the eaſieſt libertines to admit of groſſeſt uncleanneſſe; as if they had a deſigne by making wedlock a ſupportles yoke, to violate it moſt, under colour of preſerving it moſt inviolable, and with all delighting, as their myſtery is, to make men the day-labourers of their own affliction; as if there were ſuch a ſcarſity of miſeries from abroad, that wee ſhould be made to melt our choiſeſt home-bleſſings, and coin them into croſſes, for want wherby to hold commerce with patience. If any therfore who ſhall hap to read this diſcours, hath bin through miſadventure ill ingag'd in this contracted evill heer complain'd of, and finds the fits and workings of a high impatience frequently upon him, of all thoſe wild words which men in miſery think to eaſe themſelves by uttering, let him not op'n his lips againſt the providence of heav'n, or rax the wayes of God and his divine Truth; for they are equal, eaſy, and not burdenſome; nor do they ever croſſe the juſt and reaſonable deſires of men, not involve this our portion

of mortall life, into a neceſſity of ſadnes and malecontent, by Laws commanding over the unreducible *antipathies* of nature ſooner or later found: but allow us to remedy and ſhake off thoſe evills into which human error hath led us through the middeſt of our beſt intentions; and to ſupport our incident extremities by that authentick precept of ſovran charity; whoſe grand Commiſſion is to doe and to diſpoſe over all the ordinances of God to man; that love & truth may advance each other to everlaſting. While we literally ſuperſtitious through cuſtomary faintnes of heart, not venturing to peirce with our free thoughts into the full latitude of nature and religion, abandon our ſelvs to ſerv under the tyranny of uſurpt opinions, ſuffering thoſe ordinances which were allotted to our ſolace and reviving, to trample over us and hale us into a multitude of ſorrows which God never meant us. And where he ſet us in a fair allowance of way with honeſt liberty and prudence to our guard, wee never leave ſubtilizing and caſuiſting till wee have ſtraitn'd and par'd that liberal path into a razors edge to walk on between a precipice of unneceſſary miſchief on either ſide: and ſtarting at every fals alarum, wee doe not know which way to ſet a foot forward with manly confidence and Chriſtian reſolution, through the confuſed ringing in our ears, of *panick* ſcruples and amazements.

Another act of papal encroachment it was, to pluck the power & arbitrement of divorce from the maſter of family, into whoſe hands God & the law of all Nations had put it, & Chriſt ſo left it, preaching only to the conſcience, and not authorizing a judiciall Court to toſſe about and divulge the unaccountable and ſecret reaſons of diſaffection between man & wife, as a thing moſt improperly anſwerable to any ſuch kind of trial. But the Popes of *Rome* perceaving the great revenu and high autority it would give them, ev'n over Princes, to have the judging and deciding of ſuch a main conſequence in the life of man as was divorce, wrought ſo upon the ſuperſtition of thoſe ages, as to deveſt them of that right which God from the beginning had entruſted to the husband: by which means they ſubjected that ancient and naturally domeſtick prerogative to an external & unbefitting judicature. For although differences in divorce about dowries, jointures, and the like, beſides the puniſhing of adultery, ought not to paſſe without referring, if need be, to the Magiſtrate, yet for him to interpoſe his juridictive power upon the inward and irremediable diſpoſition of man, to command love and

ſympathy,

ſympathy, to forbid diſlike againſt the guiltles inſtinct of nature, is not within the province of any law to reach, & were indeed an uncommodious rudenes, not a juſt power. For if natures reſiſtles ſway in love or hate be once compell'd, it grows careles of it ſelf, vitious, uſeles to friend, unſerviceable and ſpiritles to the Common-wealth. W^ch *Moſes* rightly foreſaw, and all wiſe Lawgivers that ever knew man, what kind of creature he was. The Parliament alſo and *Clergy* of *England* were not ignorant of this, when they conſented that *Harry the* 8th might put away *his Q. Anne of Cleve*, whom he could not like, after he had bin wedded half a year; unles it were that contrary to the Proverb, they made a neceſſity of that which might have bin a vertu in them to do. For ev'n the freedom and eminence of mans creation gives him to be a Law in this matter to himſelf, beeing the head of the other ſex which was made for him: whom therfore though he ought not to injure, yet neither ſhould he be forc't to retain in ſociety to his own overthrow, nor to hear any judge therin above himſelf. It being alſo an unſeemly affront to the ſequeſter'd & vail'd modeſty of that ſex, to have her unpleaſingnes and other concealements bandied up and down, and aggravated in open Court by thoſe hir'd maiſters of tongue-fence. Such uncomely exigences it befell no leſſe a Majeſty then *Henry th* 8th to be reduc't to; who finding juſt reaſon in his conſcience to forgoe his brothers wife, after many indignities of beeing deluded, and made a boy of by thoſe his two *cardinal* Judges, was conſtrain'd at laſt for want of other prooff, that ſhee had bin carnally known by Prince *Arthur*, ev'n to uncover the nakednes of that vertuous Lady, & to recite openly the obſcene evidence of his brothers chāberlain. Yet it pleas'd God to make him ſee all the tyranny of *Rome*, by diſcovering this which they exercis'd over divorce; and to make him the beginner of a reformation to this whole Kingdom by firſt aſſerting into his *familiary* power the right of juſt divorce. Tis true, an adultres cannot be ſham'd anough by any publick proceeding; but that woman whoſe honour is not appeach't, is leſſe injur'd by a ſilent diſmiſſion, beeing otherwiſe not illiberally dealt with, then to endure a clamouring debate of utterles things, in a buſines of that civil ſectecy and difficult diſcerning, as not to be over-much queſtion'd by neereſt friends. Which drew that anſwer from the greateſt and worthieſt *Roman* of his time *Paulus Emilius*, beeing demanded why he would put away his wife for no viſible reaſon, *This Shoo*, ſaith he, and held

it out on his foot, *is a neat shoo, a new shoo, and yet none of yet know where it wrings me?* much lesse by the unfamiliar cognisance of a fee'd gamester can such a private difference be examin'd, neither ought it.

Lastly, All law is for some good that may be frequently attain'd without the admixture of a worse inconvenience; but the Law forbidding divorce, never attains to any good end of such prohibition, but rather multiplies evil. If it aim at the establishment of matrimony, wee know that cannot thrive under a loathed and forc't yoke, but is daily violated: if it seek to prevent the sin of divorcing, that lies not in the law to prevent; for he that would divorce and marry again, but for the law, hath in the sight of God don it already. Civil or politick sin it never was, neither to Jew nor Gentile, nor by any judicial intendment of Christ, only culpable as it transgresses the allowance of *Moses* in the inward man, which not any law but conscience only can evince. The law can only look whether it be an injury to the divorc't, which in truth it can be none, as a meer separation; for if she consent, wherin has the law to right her? or consent not, then is it either just and so deserv'd, or it unjust, such in all likelihood was the divorcer, and to part from an unjust man is a happines, & no injury to be lamented. But suppose it be an injury, the Law is not able to amend it, unlesse she think it other then a miserable redresse to return back from whence she was expell'd, or but entreated to be gon, or els to live apart still maried without marriage, a maried widow. Last, if it be to chast'n the divorcer, what law punishes a deed which is not moral, but natural, a deed which cannot certainly be found to be an injury, or how can it be punisht by prohibiting the divorce, but that the innocent must equally partake? So that wee see the Law can to no rational purpose forbid divorce, it can only take care that the conditions of divorce be not injurious. But what? Shall then the disposal of that power return again to the maister of family? Wherfore not? Since God there put it, and the presumptuous Canon thence bereft it. This only must be provided, that the ancient manner be observ'd in presence of the Minister, and other grave selected Elders; who after they shall have admonisht and prest upon him the words of our Saviour, & he shall have protested in the faith of the eternal Gospel, and the hope he has of happy resurrection, that otherwise then thus he cannot doe, and thinks himself, & this his case not contain'd in that prohibition of divorce

which

which Chriſt pronounc't, the matter not beeing of malice, but of nature, and ſo not capable of reconciling, to conſtrain him further were to unchriſten him, to unman him, to throw the mountain of *Sinai* upon him, with the waight of the whole Law to boot, flat againſt the liberty and eſſence of the Goſpel, and yet nothing available either to the ſanctity of mariage, the good of husband, wife, or children, nothing profitable either to Church or Common wealth. But this would bring in confuſion. Be of good cheer, it would not: it wrought ſo little diſorder among the *Jews*, that from *Moſes* till after the captivity not one of the Profets thought it worth rebuking; for that of *Malachy* well lookt into, will appeare to be, not againſt divorcing, but rather againſt keeping ſtrange Concubines, to the vexation of their *Hebrew* wives. If therfore wee Chriſtians may be thought as good and tractable as the *Jews* were, and certainly the prohibiters of divorce preſume us to be better, then leſſe confuſion is to be fear'd for this among us then was among them. If wee bee wors, or but as bad, which lamentable examples confirm wee are, then have wee more, or at leaſt as much need of this permitted law, as they to whom God expreſly gave it under a harſher covnant. Let not therfore the frailty of man goe on thus inventing needleſſe troubles to it ſelf to groan under the fals imagination of a ſtrictnes never impos'd from above, enjoyning that for duty which is an impoſſible and vain ſupererogating. *Bee not righteous overmuch*, is the counſel of *Eccleſiaſtes*; *why ſhouldſt thou deſtroy thy ſelf?* Let us not be thus over-curious to ſtrain at *atoms*, and yet to ſtop every vent and cranny of permiſſive liberty: leſt nature wãting thoſe needful pores, and breathing places which God hath not debarr'd our weaknes, either ſuddenly break out into ſome wide rupture of open vice, and frantick hereſy, or els inwardly feſter with repining and blaſphemous thoughts, under an unreaſonable and fruitles rigor of unwarranted law. Againſt which evils nothing can more beſeem the religion of the Church or the wiſdom of the State, then to conſider timely and provide. And in ſo doing, let them not doubt but they ſhall vindicate the miſreputed honour of God and his great Lawgiver, by ſuffering him to give his own laws according to the condition of mans nature beſt known to him, without the unſufferable imputation of diſpencing legally with many ages of ratify'd adultery. They ſhall recover the miſattended words of Chriſt to the ſincerity of their true ſenſe from manifold contradictions, and ſhall

open

open them with the key of charity. Many helples Chriſtians they ſhall raiſe from the depth of ſadnes and diſtreſſe, utterly unfitted, as they are, to ſerv God or man: many they ſhall reclaime from obſcure and giddy ſects, many regain from diſſolute and brutiſh licence, many from deſperate hardnes, if ever that were juſtly pleaded. They ſhall ſet free many daughters of *Iſrael*, not wanting much of her ſad plight *whom Satan had bound eighteen years*. Man they ſhall reſtore to his juſt dignity, and prerogative in nature, preferring the ſouls free peace before the promiſcuous draining of a carnal rage. Mariage from a perilous hazard and ſnare, they ſhall reduce to be a more certain hav'n and retirement of happy ſociety; when they ſhall judge according to God and *Moſes*, and how not then according to Chriſt? when they ſhall judge it more wiſdom and goodnes to break that covnant ſeemingly & keep it really, then by compulſion of law to keep it ſeemingly, and by compulſion of blameles nature to break it really, at leaſt if it were ever truly joyn'd. The vigor of diſcipline they may then turn with better ſucceſſe upon the proſtitute looſenes of the times, when men finding in themſelvs the infirmities of former ages, ſhall not be conſtrain'd above the gift of God in them to unprofitable and impoſſible obſervances never requir'd from the civileſt, the wiſeſt, the holieſt Nations, whoſe other excellencies in moral vertu they never yet could equal. Laſt of all, to thoſe whoſe mind ſtill is to maintain textual reſtrictions, whereof the bare ſound cannot conſiſt tomtimes with humanity, much leſſe with charity, I would ever anſwer by putting them in remembrãce of a command above all commands, which they ſeem to have forgot, and who ſpake it; in compariſon wherof this which they ſo exalt, is but a petty and ſubordinate precept. *Let them goe* therfore with whom I am loath to couple them, yet they will needs run into the ſame blindnes with the Phariſes, *let them goe therfore* and conſider well what this leſſon means, *I will have mercy and not ſacrifice*; for on that *ſaying all the Law and Profets depend*, much more the Goſpel whoſe end and excellence is mercy and peace: Or if they cannot learn that, how will they hear this, which yet I ſhall not doubt to leave with them as a concluſion: That God the Son hath put all other things under his own feet; but his Commandments he hath left all under the feet of charity.

The end.

Omitted pa. 19. *lin.* 28.

WHom thus to ſhut up and immure together, the one with a miſchoſen mate, the other in a miſtak'n calling, is not a courſe, &c.

Omitted pa. 24. *lin.* 22.

Uncertain good.] This only text not to be match't again throughout the whole Scripture, wherby God in his perfet Law ſhould ſeem to have granted to the hard hearts of his holy people under his own hand a civil immunity and free charter to live and die in a long ſucceſſive adultery, under a covnant of works, till the *Meſſiah*, and then that indulgent permiſſion to be ſtrictly deny'd by a covnant of grace, beſides the incoherence of ſuch a doctrin, cannot, muſt not be thus interpreted, to the raiſing of a paradox never known till then, only hanging by the twin'd thred of one doubtfull Scripture, againſt ſo many other rules and leading principles of religion, of juſtice, and purity of life. For what could be granted more either to the fear, or to the luſt of any tyrant, or politician, then this autority of *Moſes* thus expounded; which opens him a way at will to damme up juſtice, and not only to admit of any *Romiſh*, or *Auſtrian* diſpences, but to enact a Statute of that which he dares not ſeem to approve, ev'n to legitimate vice, to make ſin it ſelf a free Citizen of the Common-wealth, pretending only theſe or theſe plauſible reaſons. And well he might, all the while that *Moſes* ſhall be alleg'd to have don as much without ſhewing any reaſon at all. Yet this could not enter into the heart of *David*, *Pſal* 94.20. how any ſuch autority as endeavours *to faſhion wickedneſs by law*, ſhould derive it ſelf from God. And *Iſaiah* lays *woe upon them that decree unrighteous decrees*, 10. 1. Now which of theſe two is the better Lawgiver, and which deſerv's moſt a woe he that gives out an Edict ſingly unjuſt, or he that confirms to generations a fixt

and unmolested impunity of that which is not only held to be unjuſt, but alſo unclean, and both in a high degree, not only as they themſelvs affirm, an injurious expulſion of one wife, but alſo an unclean freedom by more then a patent to wed another adulterouſly? How can wee therfore with ſafety thus dangerouſly confine the free ſimplicity of our Saviours meaning to that which meerly amounts from ſo many letters, whenas it can conſiſt neither with his former and cautionary words, nor with other more pure and holy principles, nor finally with the ſcope of charity, &c.

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE NECESSITY OF Christian Subjection.

Demonstrated, and proved by the Doctrine of Christ, and the Apostles; the practice of Primitive Christians, the rules of Religion, cases of conscience, and consent of latter Orthodox Divines,

That the power of the King is not of Humane, *but of* Divine Right; *and that God onely is the efficient cause thereof.*

Whereunto is added,

An Appendix of all the chief *Objections* that malice it selfe could lay upon His Majestie, with a full Answer to every particular Objection.

Also a Tract intituled, CHRISTVS DEI, *Wherein is proved that our Soveraign Lord the King is not onely* Major singulis, *but* Major universis.

1 PET. 2. 17.

Feare God, Honour the King.

OXFORD
Printed in the Yeere. 1643.

NECESSITY

Christian Subjection.

THE NECESSITY OF CHRISTIAN SUBJECTION.

ROM 13.5.

Wherefore ye muſt needs be ſubject, not onely for wrath, but alſo for conſcience ſake.

WOuld men but meditate, or were they perſwaded of the truth of the Prophets ſpeech, (1 *Sam.* 15.22. 23.) *Behold to obey is better then Sacrifice, & to hearken then the fat of Rams; for Rebellion is as the ſinne of Witchcraft, and ſtubbornneſſe is as Iniquity and Idolatry.* (Were they I ſay perſwaded of this truth) there would not be ſo little hearkening to the commands of Authority, nor ſo little obeying what they heare; nor would men runne ſo fiercely into the fearefull ſin of Rebellion, onely to maintaine and juſtifie their owne *ſacrifice of fooles*; which is indeed no other then their fooliſh imaginations have deviſed, and their vaine thoughts have ſet up as an Idoll to themſelves. Or were wee not fallen into thoſe laſt and worſt of times propheeied of by the Apoſtle (2 *Tim.* 3.1.5.) wherein men that make ſhew of godlineſſe (yea many that moſt ſhew of it) have onely a ſhew, but deny the power of it, being proud, curſed ſpeakers, diſobedient to parents: Proud indeed, when they dare exalt themſelves againſt Gods Vicegerent; Curſed ſpeakers, when they dare libell and ſlander Prince and Prelate; Diſobedient to Parents, Naturall, Eccleſiaſticall, and Politicall: were we not I ſay fallen into ſuch times, I ſhould not need to urge the Apoſtles inference, which the unſeaſonable ſins of theſe ſeaſons make ſo ſeaſonable: [*Wherefore ye muſt needs be ſubject, &c.*]

Eccle 5.1. *Olympio. dor. in loc.*

His Majeſties large Declaration, p. 12. 13 225. 256.257. &c.

In which words, *Infert concluſionem Principaliter intentam, Aq.* wherein, *Concludit Paraneſin ſubjectionis ejuſque neceſſitatem, Rol.* ſhewing that we muſt obey the Magiſtrate, not onely for feare of puniſhment, but much more becauſe that (although the

Magiſtrate hath no power over the conſcience of man, yet ſeeing he is Gods Miniſter) he cannot be reſiſted by any good conſcience, *Gen*: *Notes, ex Calv, & Bez. In qua duas potiſſimum urget cauſas ob quas poteſtatibus neceſſariò obediendum, Marlor.* Firſt their power to cauſe feare of wrath. Secondly our conſcience to obey Gods ordinance; In reſpect of both which we muſt be ſubject not onely for wrath, but alſo for conſcience ſake:

Wherein I ſhall conſider theſe 5 particulars.

1. The Illation, [*Wherefore,*]
2. The Duty, [*ſubject*]
3. The Neceſſity, [*muſt needs*]
4. The perſons obliged, [*Ye*]
5. The Reaſons perſwading, and thoſe twofold:
   1. From feare of wrath, although [*not onely for wrath.*]
   2. For conſcience, [*But alſo for conſcience ſake.*]

Aquin. Lyr. Calv. Bez. Marlor. Rollec.

1. The Illation and inference in this word [*Wherefore*] being a concluſion, wherein *Quod initio praceperat de præſtandâ Magiſtratibus obedientiâ, nunc per modum collectionis repetit, ſed cum expoſitione: Calv.* It will be convenient for conceiving fully the Apoſtles meaning, and the force of his Arguments, and the drift of this concluſion, that we reflect back as farre as the beginning of this Chapter; where (beſides thoſe two mentioned, *verſe.* 4. Of 1. Terror to the ill, which I reſerve to be handled under that of wrath. 2. And Reward to the good, which I referre to that of conſcience.) We ſhall finde foure Reaſons premiſed to inforce this concluſion, [*Wherefore ye muſt needs be ſubject, &c.*]

1. Firſt, Οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ Θεοῦ. (*v.* 1.) for there is no power but of God. How much ſoever we may perhaps diſlike them, and how ill ſoever they may ſometimes uſe their power; As *Pilate* did his, in crucifying him whom he ſhould have looſed, and looſing him whom he ſhould have crucified, yet our Saviour himſelf acknowledgeth, that even this abuſed power was δεδομένη ἄνωθεν, given him from above; (*Ioh.* 19. 11.) For miſery comes not out of the duſt, neither doth affliction ſpring out of the earth: (*Iob.* 5. 6.) But as *Omne bonum deſuper*, Every good gift is from above, (*Iam.* 1. 17.) ſo is there no evil in the City, and the Lord hath not done it, (*Amos* 3. 6.) (i.e.) *Malum pœna*, no evil of punishment.

Ioh. 19. 20. *Matth.* 27. 26.

Auguſt. de Civitat. Dei, l. 5. *c.* 21.

Per

Per me Reges regnant, By me Kings raigne, is the generall ground of the Charter, both of good and evil Princes, and Nobles, and all the Judges of the earth, (*Prov.*8.15.16.) He it is that raiſeth unto *David* a righteous branch, a King who ſhal raigne & proſper, and execute judgement and juſtice upon the earth, in whoſe dayes the people ſhal be ſafe; And he it is that gives an evil King in his anger, & takes a good King away in his wrath: *Qui regnare facit hominem hypocritam propter peccata populi.* (*Iob.*34.30.) vulg. So that whether they be good or evil, we muſt be ſubject, ſithence there is no power but of God; Μήποτε ἄρα θεομάχοι εὑρεθῶμεν, leſt we will be found fighters againſt God, whoſe power none is able to reſiſt, whether it bee for protecting or for puniſhing; [*Wherefore we muſt needs be ſubject.*] Jer.33.5,6. Hoſ.13.11. Act.5.39.

2. Secondly, they are not onely not without God, οὐ μὰ ἄνευ θεοῦ, and ſo of him *permiſſivè*; but they are the ordinance of God himſelf, and ſo of him *poſitivè*, ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμέναι, ordained of God (*v.*1.) whereupon they worthily uſe in their ſtile, not onely *Permiſſione Divinâ*, or *Providentiâ Divinâ*, although thoſe be good titles taken in a good ſenſe; (yet they imply ſome intermediate meanes betwixt God and thoſe who beare them:) But Princes write *Dei Gratiâ*: for by the Grace of God (no favour of man) they are what they are; ſo that I may ſay of their government, as Saint *Paul* ſaid of his Apoſtleſhip, It is not of man, nor by man, but by Jeſus Chriſt, & God the Father, For, *Cujus juſſu homines naſcuntur, hujus juſſu & Reges conſtituuntur; apti his, qui in illo tempore ab ipſis regantur.* (*Iren.lib* 5 *cap.*24.) Which may be demonſtratively evidenced, if we ſhall take a ſurvey of the *Series*, and ſucceſſion of Governours, from the firſt man that was placed upon the earth, whom we finde created with an intention to make him Gods Vicegerent; (*Gen.*1.26.) and at his very firſt ſetting foot upon the earth, actually inveſted with Monarchicall government; (*ver.*27.28.) That government being indeed the ſpeciall forme, whereby he could reſemble the image of God who is in Heaven, as he made him upon Earth the ſole unequalled Monarch, from whom alone *Quicquid eſt ab uno eſt, & eſt id quod eſt*; and therefore he is worthy to receive glory, and honour, and power, for of him, and for him, and through him are all things. Citat. Gal.1.1. Boet. de unit. & uno. Apoc.4.11. Rom.11.36.

Nor was it his intention that hee ſhould onely governe the Beaſts already created, But alſo he made him to be the Monarch,

And confirmed his Authority *Iure naturali, Potestate patriâ*, over all mankinde, which should be propagated after him; who as the Angels and those of Heaven, had their beginning from God by Creation, and therefore were subject to him; so all the *Armies* upon earth were to deduce their off-spring from that one *Adam* by Generation, and so to owe to him subjection; whereas had not God intended to have Principality, depended onely upon his own institution and not upon the subordinate Nobles, nor the multitudes of popular election, It had beene as easie for him, to have Created a Company, a Colony, a Countrey, a Nation, a World of men upon earth, with his own *faciamus*, As it was, and as he did, so many Legions of Angels in the Heavens; that so out of those choice Colonies themselves might have made choice of a Commander. But he, who found *the Heavens* not free from mutiny, when he produced a multitude of inhabitants there, although all were his off-spring, would not give the least colour to contertion, for superiority or equality, nor pretext of disobedience against his Monarch upon earth, whilst he suffers no Subject to be set by him but such as owed the Subjection and duty of a Sonne in Descending from him; Thereby teaching all posterity, how the power of a Prince over his Subjects is, and ought to bee acknowledged, as naturall, as the power of a Father is over his sonne; yea and also thereby signifying, That as Naturally there can bee but one Father of one Childe, So Politiquely there should be but one Prince and Monarch of one People and Nation. Whereupon God did not create two men (no nor *Eve*, but out of the rib of *Adam*) that so from them all others should issue, and they might rule promiscuously, or that each of them should rule such as would make choice to be under his government, rather then under the others, (although perhaps propagated of the other) Nor that the mightiest Hunter, he, that could get most, should governe most, as afterwards it fell out in the degenerating dayes of *Nymrod*. But he created onely one, thereby to intimate, How far Monarchicall government is to be preferred before any other, Aristocraticall, Democraticall, Oligarchicall, or the like. This and this alone of man on earth, being an Idea or resemblance of Gods government in Heaven; and we pray daily, that his will may bee done on earth as it is in heaven; And how can it be so, if we reject or resist that forme of government? As also, thereby he implies, that

Theophil. l. 2.
Chrysost. Hom. 34. in 1 Cor.

Apoc. 12.

Theophil. Chrysost. ubi supr.

Gen 10. 9,10.

Dan. Apheil. Polit. p. 402. 24.

Matth. 6. 10.

that all other formes of government are against the course of nature, different from the patterne of heaven, diverse from divine institution, and indeed punishments rather then blest governments, If they be compared with Monarchie; Which made the wisest of Kings affirme, that many Princes are imposed for the transgression of a Land, But that Realme onely indures long which is ruled by one man of understanding and knowledge (*Prov.* 28. 2.) Which Doctrine seemes to bee squared to Gods own practice throughout all ages, whensoever he designed any government over his people the Jews (after they were taken notice of for his peculiar) although for a long time he retained the royall supreame Title of King to himselfe, (during which time, he oft times immediately delivered his Regall mandates by *Urim*, *Thummim*, Visions, Oracles, Prophesies. &c.) Yet hee appointed one Supreme Viceperent over them, and not many (for as for the *Sanhedrim* they were but as *Moses* or the High priests Privie Councell, Or as delegated Judges because of the multiplicity of businesses) One I say and not many, witnesse *Moses* 40. yeares betwixt *Egypt* and *Canaan*, *Iosuna* neere 60. yeeres settling them in *Canaan*, after them *Iudah*, after him *Othniell*, then *Ehud*, then *Shamgar*, then *Deborah*, then *Gideon*, then *Tolah*, then *Iair*, then *Iephthah*, then *Sampson*, But never above one at one time. And how lamentable the times were when there was not one Supreame, but the multitude tooke power into their own hands; that hideous story of the licentious *Danites*, and the ravished *Levites* wife, and the revenge of one upon another may serve to astonish all posterity, and affright them from affecting Anarchie; yea & when God, after that he had in mercie looked upon their misery, sent them new Judges, *Hely*, and *Samuel* successively, and they not therewith satisfied would have a King like other Nations, he doth not set several Kings over them, as *Iosuna* found 31. over the land at their enterance, but hee appointed them onely one King (1 *Sam.* 8. 22.) As being safest for his people, best resembling his government and most agreeable to his Ordinance; Wherefore wee must needes bee subject to such form of government, for it is the Ordinance of God.

1 Sam. 8.

Judg. c. 10 c. 15.

Judg. 19, & 20.

2 Sam. 8. 5 Josh. 12.

Oh! how much therefore are those too blame who goe about to alter this forme of government, and to introduce a new deformed device of their own ambitious invention, wherein they are not

not agreed, whether they ſhall be ſtiled, 1. The States of England as ſome of their Preachers (forgetting the King in their praiers) have ſycophantically phraſed them; 2. Or whether they ſhall be entituled, The perpetuall Senate, or Aſſeſſours of the kingdom, as ſome have endeavoured to derive their ſtile, as the Impreſſe of a Republick; 3. Or whether they ſhall be dignified with the Princely Attribute of Gentlemen of the Crowne of England (to which ſhould be annexed the power of electing their King although hereditary) as ſome of themſelves have ambitiouſly expreſſed their affectation in aſſimilation to that of Poland; onely to the end that themſelves might be ſharers in Supremacy. A Government which admitting a Monarch whom yet they dare not deny, is neither Monarchie, Ariſtocracy, Democracy, nor Oligarchie; and Anarchie, I dare ſay, they would not have it intituled; A Government which if *Ariſtotle* himſelf were to ſit in Councel at their cloſe Committees, he could not yet reſolve what to cal it, a government never grounded on the Ordinance of God, nor practiſed in any eſtabliſhed Common-weale. And what fearfull effects muſt neceſſarily follow it. Beſides, that it is to conjecture when men leave the fountaines of the living waters, and take themſelves to Ciſterns of their own digging. It may alſo be apparent to any indifferent underſtanding who reads or heares the ſtory of *Hen.* 3. when there was an attempt of 24. Aſſeſſours and a trayterous appointing *Les Douze Piers*, far ſhort of this confuſed inſolency, what Robberies, what Rapes, what Murthers, what Burglaries, what Extortions, what Exactions followed, (every one ſhrouding himſelf under that Aſſeſſour, which he followed, yea and every one of the Aſſeſſours after a little time, bandying himſelf againſt another, either for their own faction, or favouring of their followers) is rather to be imagined then reported, yet thoſe times too really felt it, and all muſt neceſſarily taſte the like bitter fruit, who wil plant & nurſe the tree of popular faction.

Speed H. 3. p. 635. ex. Mat. Weſtmonaſt. Martin. H. 3. p. 66, 67, 70, 71, 73, 74.

Vpon the Lords Prayer.

And alas how fooliſh and fond of flitting (to uſe King *James* his Scottiſh Proverbe in another caſe) are thoſe people which will be bewitched to follow theſe many-headed *Hydra's*, before the voice of the Lambe, and never conſider that old Adage *Citius impletur unus ſaccus, quàm plures?* hath there been ſo much paines beſtowed in vaine, if it be in vain, (As the Apoſtle ſpeaks in another caſe) to bring this Kingdome from an Heptarchie to a Monarchie;

narchie; that now one part of this Iſland ſhould be turned from a Monarchiy to a *Roman* Decemvirate, a *Venetian* Senate, a *Low-countrey* State, nay to the government without a name, God forbid: *Vis unita fortior*, but a Kingdome divided cannot ſtand. I beſeech you therefore brethren marke them diligently which cauſe diviſions amongſt you, and avoid them: (*Rom.* 16. 17.) for thoſe who at firſt cauſe diviſions, in Opinion, in Doctrine, and in Religion, will at the length attempt diviſions in Govetnment, in Policie, in Countries and Kingdomes. Let us in the feare of God conſider with our ſelves, That if there be no power but of God, even the puniſhing and perſecuting power, and if we muſt be ſubject even to that, leſt we ſhould fight againſt God, Oh how much more then, where Kings are nurſing fathers, ought we to ſhew our ſubjection with all readineſſe and chearfulneſſe? If Saint *Paul* inforce obedience to the Prince with ſo many forcible arguments, when that Tyrant *Nero* (who devoured Chriſtians like a Lyon) raigned and raged. Oh how ſhould we urge & preſſe this point, when a *Conſtantine*, a Patron of the Church, and pattern of piety is our preſident in religious exerciſes, as well as preſident over us with righteous government: for certainely, [*They that reſiſt, Reſiſt the Ordinance of God*] which is the third reaſon whereupon our Apoſtle grounds this inference, *Wherefore ye muſt needes be ſubject.*

1 Mar. 12. 25.

Eſay 49. 23.

2 Tim. 4. 17.

3. For as in his Church Chriſt gave ſome to be Apoſtles, ſome Prophets, ſome Evangeliſts, ſome Paſtors and Teachers, for the gathering together of the Saints, and for the worke of the Miniſtery: ſo God in the Common-weale appointed ſome to bee Kings *ὑπερέχοντες*, moſt eminent and excellent above all other, ſome to be Governours under them *ἡγεμόνας εἰς ἔκδικον κακοποιῶν*, ſent by Commiſſion from them: Amongſt whom ſome are Nobles, ſome Judges, (*Prov.* 8. 16.) ſome Prieſts (for thoſe howſoever ſome conceive of them, were not incapable of government in the Common-weale:) yea, ſome things there are which could not be decided without them. (*Deu.* 17. 8. to 12.) ſome are Governours of Cities, (*Deut.* 21. 3, 4.) ſome Rulers of thouſands, ſome of hundreds, ſome of tens, (*Exod.* 18. 25, 26.) and ſome live meerely in ſubjection, as the inferior poore ſervant, &c. whom *Ariſtotle* that *Linceus* of Nature affirmeth, Nature it ſelfe framed onely to that uſe; and every man bound in conſcience by the law of God

Ephes. 4. 11, 12. 1 Pet. 2. 13. ver. 14.

Exod. 40. 15. Heb. 7. 8.

Polit. l. 1. c. 3. 4.

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Mar. 12. 25.

Esay 49. 23.

2 Tim. 4. 17.

3. For as in his Church Christ gave some to be Apostles, some Prophets, some Evangelists, some Pastors and Teachers, for the gathering together of the Saints, and for the worke of the Ministery: so God in the Common-weale appointed some to bee Kings ὑπερέχοντες, most eminent and excellent above all other, some to be Governours under them ἡγεμονεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ πεμπομένοι, sent by Commission from them: Amongst whom some are Nobles, some Judges, (*Prov.* 8. 16.) some Priests (for those howsoever some conceive of them, were not incapable of government in the Common-weale:) yea, some things there are which could not be decided without them. (*Deu.* 17. 8. to 12.) some are Governours of Cities, (*Deut.* 21. 3, 4.) some Rulers of thousands, some of hundreds, some of tens, (*Exod.* 18. 25, 26.) and some live meerely in subjection, as the inferior poore servant, &c. whom *Aristotle* that *Linceus* of Nature affirmeth, Nature it selfe framed onely to that use; and every man bound in conscience by the law of

Ephes. 4. 11, 12.

1 Pet. 2. 13.

ver. 14.

Exod. 40. 15.

Heb. 7. 8.

Polit. l. 1. c. 3. 4.

God to abide in that ſtate wherein God hath placed him, and to be contented, with his Vocation, Degree, and calling, (1 *Cor.* 7. 20, 21, 22.) unleſſe hee will bee as guilty of confuſion in the body politique, or Eccleſiaſticall, as the members ſhould bee in the body naturall, if one ſhould ſtrive to uſurpe anothers
1 Cor. 14. 12. to 31. place; The foote the head, the eare the eye; and unleſſe we will be as guilty in reſiſting the ordinance of God, as they ſhould bee of deforming the act of his Creation.

1 Pet. 2. 13. to 17. Mat. 20. 14. Submit your ſelves therefore to all manner of ordinance of man for the Lords ſake, Ἆρον τὸ σόν, Take that which is thine own and goe thy way. If thou beeſt a Ruler, do it with diligence: If an Officer, wait on thy office: If a Teacher, attend to teaching: If but a ſervant, doe that without ſlothfulneſſe, (*Rom.* 12. 7. to 11.) If a Judge, be learned, (*Pſal.* 2. 11.) yea, and upright too, (*Pſal.*
Deut. 17. 9. to 13. 58. 1.) If thou art to be judged, be obedient, or elſe thou muſt be cut off, both for thine owne ſin, and alſo for others example. Nor muſt thou be obedient onely when Superiours be good and courteous, but even when they are cruel and froward: Nor onely when they puniſh thee juſtly for ill doing, but even when thou ſuffereſt wrongfully, yet muſt thou endure for conſcience ſake, (1 *Pet.* 2. 18, 19.) which the Apoſtle confirmes by the example of our Saviour Chriſt, to (*verſ.* 25.) who when he ſuffered reſiſted not, no nor ſo much as threatned, (*verſ.* 23.) although he could have had more then twelve Legions of Angels, (*Mat.* 26. 53.) teaching us, that we muſt not reſiſt Authority, although unjuſtly oppreſſing: (muchleſſe iuſtly ruling although puniſhing.) Firſt, Neither offending it, (*Mat.* 17. 27.) Secondly nor defending our ſelves againſt it, (*Mat.* 26. 52.) what ſpecious pretences ſoever we may make for it. For who might have pretended faire in that kinde, than the Primitive Chriſtians againſt Idolatrous
Ambroſ. Perſecutors? yet they profeſſe, that *Armaſunt preces & lachrimæ*; ſo that *nemo noſtrum quando apprehenditur, reluctatur; nec ſe adverſus injuſtam violentiam veſtram, quamvis nimium, & copioſus noſter ſit populus, ulciſcitur*: *Cyprian.* Who might have pretended more rightly the defence of himſelf, of his fellow Diſciples, of his Maſter, yea of Religion, than Saint *Peter*? Yet heare our Saviours mandate and his menace, his mandate: [*Put up thy ſword into thy ſheath*:] His menace, [*For all they which ſtrike with the ſword, ſhall periſh with the ſword.*] [*All*] whoſoever Clergie or Laity, ſtrike

strike against authority, or without the licence of it, in what case soever without exception of 1, *Se defendendo*, or 2. Maintenance of a Covenant, or 3. Defence of Religion. And what manner of Christians those men are who dare resist their rightfull, righteous, religious Sovereigne: Or what manner of Religion that is, which they pretend gives priviledge to such rebellious practises, I leave to every good Christian to consider: Onely give me leave to tell you, sure I am, it is not such as was known to Primitive Christians: It is not such as was allowed by our Saviour to his Apostles, nor is it such as the Apostles taught the People of their times: for they without any cloake, *Sub moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ* (which indeed never can be by Arms but onely by Laws) Howsoever Pontificians and Consistorians conspire: as *Buchanan* laboured to beguile his Nation, and some of our Countrey-men have beguiled themselves, and Jesuites would have beguiled the whole world, and without any distinction so offensive and defensive disobedience, the Apostles taught the Church of God, *That he which resists*, (be it how it will) *resists the Ordinance of God.*

Aug. l. 22. cont. Faust. c. 75.

His Majesties Proclamation and Declaration, &c.

[*And he that resists purchaseth to himself damnation.*] which is the fourth reason to inforce this [*Wherefore, &c.*] and beares a threefold reading, 1. *Iudicium*, Judgement: *Tremel.* 2. *Condemnationem*, Condemnation: *Beza* & *Tompson.* 3. *Damnationem*, Damnation: *Vulgar* & *Kings Bible.* All which are but the Graduations of the punishments, implied by the originall, Κρῖμα for not onely Ἔνοχος ἔσται τῇ κρίσει, (*Matth.* 5.22.) they shall be in danger of the judgement of censure and condemnation of the censorious: Although this be a punishment which an ingenious spirit would willingly escape, which made *David* pray, (*Psal.* 39.8.) Let me not be made a rebuke unto the foolish, whilest they censure, reprove, condemne my actions in their Assemblies, much more a man that is shot through the head with popularity, as His Majestie saith of the then revolted *Rolloc*, as indeed all factious persons in Church and Common-weale are, especially if they aspire by, or adhere to the popular faction; For such, like the Camelion, which turnes to all colours save white, lives onely by the aire, and delights rather in breath then other, *Ac si mallet coctam quam crudam*; so they who apply to popularity, and suit themselves to all company, saving the innocent, can live no longer (at least not

4.

Larger Declaration. p. 25. 405.

 with

with delight) then they ſucke the breath of applauſe from the
Pſ.69.12. multitude. But behold, not onely thoſe which ſit in the gate (the Rulers) ſpeak againſt ſuch diſobedient perſons, but if they eſcape the ſongs of the Drunkards (who perhaps may whoop on their ſides) yet ſhal verybabes and ſucklings chant their diſloyalty, and the Vipers tongue ſhall ſlay them, (*Iob.* 20.16.) Thus an evil
Prov.10.7 condemnation ſhall fall upon them, whereby their name ſhall rot, and their memoriall ſhall ſtinck, even κρίσει, under the cenſure of thoſe who are as cenſorious as themſelves: Nor onely ſo, but Ἑαυτοῖς κρῖμα λήψονται, They ſhall receive Judgement, and Con-
Pſ.41.8. demnation: 1. Both Judgement before the Tribunall of men,
Pſ. 109.6. where the ſentence of guiltineſſe ſhall proceed againſt them; and
Pſ.1.15. when ſentence is given upon them, they ſhall be condemned, for ſuch ungodly perſons ſhall not be able to ſtand in Judgement, neither theſe ſinners in the Congregation of the righteous. 2. And alſo they ſhall receive Condemnation from the Juſtice of God,
Pſ.82.1. who ſtands in the Congregation of Princes, (as to ſurvey, ſo to aſſiſt) and is a Judge amongſt the earthly gods, yea even of thoſe whom they ſometimes cannot come by to judge according to
Verſ.8. their deſervings; who when he ſhal ariſe (as he will ariſe) to judge the earth, he will recompence ſuch wicked perſons after their de-
Pſ 50.21. ſervings; he will reprove them, and ſet before them, even in Order, the things that they have done: As firſt their Pride, next their Covetouſneſſe to maintaine it, after that their rebellion to declare it, then their Hypocriſie and counterfeiting Religion to vaile and
Pſ. 55.16. defend it, & at the length he will bring Death haſtily upon them, and they ſhall go down into hell, ſithence ſuch wickedneſſe is in their dwellings and amongſt them; and is not this a fearefull Judgement and Condemnation? ſo fearefull, as what can be conceived to be added? And yet behold, 3. Κατάκριμα, *Rom.* 14.23. Κατακέκριται, the Judgment, Condemnation, yea, Damnation of an accuſing conſcience ſhall conſummate their miſery, even ſuch as
Matth.27. drave *Iudas* to be his own Executioner upon earth; This ſhall do
3,4,5. continuall execution of Gods juſt judgement upon them in hell, by that worme that never dies, and that fire which never ſhall be
Eſay 66. quenched, where their rebellious carkaſſes ſhall be an abhorring
24. to all fleſh; wherefore for the eſcaping ſuch fearfull 1. Judgement. 2. Condemnation, 3. Damnation here, and hereafter from God and man; *We muſt needs be ſubject.*

2. [*Sub-*

2. [*Subject*] Which is the duty; That as the Devil overcame man by his disobedience to God, so man may return to God and overcome the Devil, by obedience to man for the Lords sake. Christianity is a Schoole of Humility, and we must not look every one upon our own excellencies, but upon other mens; having the same minde in us, which was in Christ Jesus, in giving (not in taking) honour, preferring one before another, ταπεινοντες ἑαυτὸς, humbling our selves as little children; As they submit to their Parents, so must we be subject to our Prince, for he is the Person to whom principally the Apostle presseth this subjection; as *Aquin. Dion. Carth. Bruno.* and *Claud.* glosse it. The subjection to others being for his sake, as the subjection to him is for the Lords sake; which that we may performe aright, let us consider these three particulars:

Matth. 20. 27, 28. Philip. 2. 4 Vers. 5. to 9. Rom. 12. 10. Matth. 18. 2.

1. *Qualibus*, To what manner of Princes we must be subject.
2. *In quibus*, In what things we must be subject.
3. *Quomodo*, How we must expresse our subjection.

1. *Qualibus*, To what manner of Princes we must be subject. As the Apostle injoynes Servants concerning obedience to their Masters, so say I to Subjects concerning their Soveraignes; Let as many as are under the yoke count their Governours worthy of all honour, (*Sive fideles, sive infideles*, whether they be gentle, or whether they be cruell) that the name of God and his Doctrine be not ill spoken of: 1. And if they be believing, let us not despise them because they are faithfull and beloved, and partakers of the benefit, to wit redemption. 2. Or if they be unbelievers, let us not rebell, nor resist them; because although, 1. *Quidam illorum dantur ad timorem & pœnam, & increpationem*, Some of them are sent meerely for a terrour and a punishment. 2. Yea, *Quidam ad illusionem & contumeliam, & superbiam*; Some of them set up themselves in pride, meerely to contemne, and scorne, and scoffe at their Subjects, as the persecuting Emperours did, when they exposed the Christians naked to fight with beasts and beastly Heathens. 3. Aswell as *Quidam ad correctionem & utilitatem subjectorum, & conservationem Justitiæ*; For a fatherly reformation of offendors, a loveing protection of the obedient, and the preservation of Justice for both: Yet we must consider and confesse, that *Ad utilitatem Gentilium terrenum Regnum positum*

1 Tim. 6. 1, 2.

eſt à Deo, non à Diabolo, qui nunquam omnino quietus eſt; Imò qui nec ipſas quidem gentes vult in tranquilla agere, ut timentes regnum humanum: Earthly Kingdomes are erected by God, not by the Divel, who as he is never quiet himſelf, ſo would he not have the people live in peace, (as appeares by his late practices) which government is the meanes to procure and preſerve, preventing men from devouring thoſe that are more righteous then themſelves: And for being like the fiſhes of the Sea, or the creeping things who have no Ruler over them: for, *Per legum poſitiones reperentiant multiplicem gentilium injuſtitiam*, Kings and Princes by their Laws reſtraine and bridle the fury and violence of our naturall corruptions: yea, and the worſt of Princes is never worſe then *Quemadmodum populi digni ſunt Dei juſto judicio in omnibus aliqualiter ſuperveniente: Iren. l. 5. c. 24.* ſuch as the people have provoked God to ſet to afflict them, whoſe juſt judgement alwayes interpoſeth it ſelf in ſuch weighty caſes. Although ſometimes we know it not, oft-times we will not acknowledge it: which being ſo, may oblige every one of us to be ſubject to all powers, of all qualities, conditions, diſpoſitions, tempers, religions, under whom the Lord hath placed us: *Sive* 1. *Nutricii, ſive* 2. *Hypocritis, ſive* 3. *Hereticis, ſive* 4. *Tyrannis*: Whether they be nourſing fathers, for whom we muſt praiſe God: or diſſembling Hypocrites, or obſtinate Heretickes, or bloudy Tyrants, for all which we muſt pray to God: Whatſoever *Sanderi, Allen, Stapleton, Parſons, Mariana, Boucherius, Santarellus, &c.* on the *Romiſh* part: And *Knoxe, Buchanan, Gilbey, Goodman*, and *Danæus*, on the other extreame have formerly taught, *Calderwood* hath followed, and ſome too fiery ſpirits of late have ſeditiouſly and ſcandalouſly put in practice, of whom I may ſay in the Apoſtles language, If any man teach otherwiſe (then what I have affirmed) he conſenteth not to the wholſome words of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and to the Doctrine which is according to godlineſſe: but is puffed up & knoweth nothing as he ought to know, but doateth about queſtions and ſtrife of words, whereof commeth envy, ſtrife, railings, evil ſurmiſeings, froward diſputations of men of corrupt mindes, and deſtitute of the truth, which think that gaine is godlineſſe, (howſoever they pretend godlineſſe rather then gaine) from ſuch ſeparate thy ſelfe: For howſoever we muſt performe active obedience to ſuch Princes onely ſo far as lawfully we

Hab. 1. 13, 14.

1. Tim. 6. 3, 4, 5.

we may, *Calv. Bez. Marl. Roloc. Genev. usque ad aras*, so long as *Cum Deo non comparabuntur*, they are not set in competition with God: *Tertul.* Yet we must performe passive obedience and absolute subjection, suffering without resistance, being subject without rebellion, even if they should command the most unjust superstitious, idolatrous, prophane, or irreligious things which can be imagined; yet I say we must not rebell, unlesse we will renounce Christianity, but we must let this be *Probatio subjectionis*, the touch-stone of our subjection, even our patient and constant sufferings: *Scorpiac.* Act. 4. 19. *Gloss. interlin.*

For, *Quæ passos Apostolos scimus manifesta est Doctrina*, The truth of this Doctrine is sealed by the Apostles sufferings, who indured of Heathen Princes, and for not renouncing Christianity, *Carceres, Vincula, Flagella, Saxa, Gladios, Impetus Judæorum, Cœtus Nationum, & Tribunorum Elogia, & Regum auditoria, & Proconsulum Tribunalia, & Cæsaris nomen interpretem non habent*: Imprisonment, Bonds, Stripes, Stoning, Wounds, Violence of the Jews, Conventing before the Gentiles, Questioning in the Courts of Tribunes, Examinations and Answers before Kings, Arraignments at the Tribunals of Proconsuls, yea and could not find an Appeale to the Emperour, any protection for their innocencie; yet they not onely submitted themselves, and possessed their own soules with patience, but also taught all pious people so to doe; as here our Apostle makes it apparent, and (*Titus* 3. 1, 2.) presseth it to all posterity: Put them in remembrance (for indeed we are too apt to forget) that they be subject to the Principalities & Powers, and that they be obedient, & ready to every good work; that they speak evill of no man, (much lesse of Princes and Prelates, as some of late have done) That they be no fighters, (much lesse Armed Rebels) but soft, lowly, gentle, shewing all meeknesse to all men, much more to Rulers; yea, and such effect did this Doctrine produce, that *Sanguis Martyrum semen Ecclesiæ*, *Cypr.* The blood of the Martyrs was the seed of the Church. The bloud, not the sword, that were too Turkish. And however, *Circa majestatem Imperatoris infamemur*, *Tert. ad Scap. l. 2.* They were slandred as disloyall to the Emperour; yet, *Nunquam Albiniani, vel Nigriani, vel Cassiani inveniri potuerunt Christiani*: Never any *Nigrian*, who made Religion the stalking-horse for Rebellion; Nor never any *Cassian* who assumed his Soveraign by Assassination *Tertul. ubi supr.* His Majesties Declaration *ubi supra.*

saſſination, could be found amongſt the Chriſtians: *Chriſtianus nullus eſt hoſtis nimirum Imperatoris, quem ſciens à Deo ſuo conſtitui, neceſſe eſt ut & ipſum diligat, & revereatur, & honoret, & ſalvum velit, cum toto Romano Imperio, quouſque ſeculum ſtabit, tam diu enim ſtabit: Colimus ergo Imperatorem, ſic quomodo & nobis licet, & ipſi expedit, ut hominem à Deo ſecundum, & quicquid eſt à Deo conſecutum, & ſolo Deo minorem:* For no true Chriſtian can be an enemie to his King or Emperour, whom he knows to be placed over him by God, and therefore upon neceſſity muſt love him, reverence him, honour him, pray for him, and deſire and indeavour his ſafety as the ſafety of the Kingdome; as being next to God, leſſer onely then God, and endowed with the power which he hath from God, over all the men in his Dominions. Hereupon was it that the Chriſtians fought ſo many valiant battels, and obtained ſo many glorious victories, even for Heathen and perſecuting Emperours, yea even for *Iulian* the Apoſtata himſelfe: but never did they fight any battel, pitched any Field, arrayed any Army, armed any Legions, or ſo much as entred into conſultation againſt their Emperour. And thus you ſee, *Qualibus*, to what manner of Princes we muſt be ſubject. And I think all will willingly conclude, *Si parendum eſt magiſtratui prophano, certè multo magis obedire oportet Sancto & Chriſtiano, Bez.* If Heathens were thus obeyed, much more ſhould Chriſtians; If perſecuting, much more pious Princes, ſuch as our Gracious Soveraigne, whoſe clemencie may challenge our love, as wel as his power command our duty, whom God preſerve, and proſper long over us in honour and felicity, and give us the grace and gratitude to be ſubject, *not onely for feare, but even for conſcience ſake.* And ſo I come to conſider

In Matth. 22.21.

2. *In Quibus?* In what things we muſt be ſubject? Wherein the true ſtating of the Queſtion is much differenced from the miſtaken and miſtaking Tenents of many of theſe times, who conceive and would beare the world in hand.

1. That they are bound no further to Subjection, then with a Rightly Regulated Conſcience, they may performe Active Obedience to all their Superiours Edicts and Commands.

2. That they are not bound to Active Obedience, where they have a doubting conſcience, although not fully informed by the right rule of Reaſon, or expreſſe authority of Gods word.

3. That

3. That the Supreame Magistrate, must have expresse affirmative warrant in the word of God for all his injunctions, or else the Subject needs not obey them.

Whereas the truth is,

1. Concerning the first, That although Active Obedience binds onely in the Lord, yet absolute subjection is due without any resistance for the Lords sake, διὰ τὸν κύριον, To humane Ordinances (1 *Pet.* 2. 13.) Even when man ordaines; not the Lord (1 *Cor.* 7. 12.) yet such a man as is ordained of the Lord, and so presumed to ordain according to the Lord, wee may not in any wise resist. Ephes. 6.5.

2. And as concerning the second, Although when man is left to his own liberty, The rule is to be observed, *Quod dubitas ne feceris*, because he that doubteth is condemned of his own Conscience, yet when we are Commanded by Authority, and wee onely doubt in our selves whether that bee good and lawfull which is comanded, or not, The Rule of Saint *Augustine* must be observed *Si dubitas feceris*, If you onely doubt doe it, except you have expresse warrant out of Gods word, or the Analogie of faith, and undeniable necessary Consequence to the contrary; Authority must turne the scale of thy doubting conscience, and weigh downe thy Judgement to Active obedience, so that Rom. 14. 23.

3. The Magistrate is not bound to expresse Text for warrant of each of his particular edicts; It is sufficient that it is contained in his generall Commission *Dixi Dii estis*, I have said ye are Gods. (*Psal.* 82. 6.) and therefore have committed my delegated power to you, *Per me Reges Regnant*, By me Kings Raigne (*Pro.* 8. 15.) And therefore by my authority may lay injunctions upon their Subjects, and they are obliged to Active Obedience, except they can produce a negative Act of Parliament out of the high Court of Heaven; for Princes are not onely instead of God by representation (*Exodus* 4. 16.) but they have the power of God over those to whom they have commission (*Exod.* 7. 1.) I have made thee *Pharoahs* God, yea and put case the Subject could produce a contradictory command of God to that of his King, yet is not his passive obedience dispensed withall, nor any part of his absolute subjection dissolved or cancelled, But wee must needes be Subject, (at least by suffering if not by doing) in all things, even against the dictate of a doubting, yea, or a discerning conscience. *Ambros. To. 3. Epis. l. 5. Orat.*

3. But then in the next place it remains to be resolved by what meanes, or in what manner this subjection is to be expressed, which must be by these seven meanes following; where there are not *Iura Regni* by mutuall consent of Prince and people to supersede them, or dispence with any of them.

1. First by praying for them (1 *Tim.* 2. 1. 10. 4.) I exhort therefore that first of all, Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and giving of thankes, be made for all men, for Kings and all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlinesse and honesty, for this is good and acceptable in the sight of God our Saviour, who will have all men to be saved, and to come unto the knowledge of the truth. Where observe we must pray, 1. To the end that we may live godly and peaceably, when we did not live so before: 2. That they may come to the knowledg of the truth, when they knew it not before: 3. And that they may be saved, when they were not in that state before. None so bad then, to and for whom we are not to expresse our subjection by this duty.

Li. Tit. 3. c. 2. Citat. 2. Secondly, we must speake no evill of them; (*Exod.* 22. 28.) Thou shalt not revile the Gods, nor curse the ruler of the people. Is it fit to say to a King, thou art wicked; and to Priuces ye are ungodly? (*Iob.* 34. 18) No certainly, nothing lesse, and therefore follow the counsel of *Martialis*, who lived in the Primitive times, learned of the Apostles, and taught to succession *A murmuratione custodite corda vestra*; Keepe not onely your hands from mutiny, and your tongues from muttering, but even your hearts from repining.

3. Thirdly, we must not dispute their Commands, for where the word of a King is, there is power, and who may say unto him, what doest thou? (*Eccles.* 8. 4.) (*i. e.*) Not publikely and illegally to raise opposition against him, onely we may privately informe our own judgement, to prepare as peaceably either for active obedience or for Martyrdome.

Ioth. 1. 16, 17. 4. Fourthly, we must expresse our subjection by doing all their commands which are not directly against God, resolving with the *Israelites*, All that thou commandest us we wil do, and whithersoever thou sendest us we will goe, onely the Lord thy God be with thee.

Fiftly, we must expresse it by suffering all punishments patiently,

ently without any reſiſtance; for thoſe things which we dare not do when they command them, becauſe they appeare (not ſeem) to be directly againſt God, (as hath been before demonſtrated;) imitating S. *Chryſoſtome*, (*Epiſt. ad Cyriacum*) *Cum à civitate fugarer, dicebam intra meipſum, ſi quidem vult Regina me exulem agere, agat in exilium; Domini eſt Terra & plenitudo ejus; & ſi vult ſecare, ſecet; idem paſſus eſt Iſaias, &c. Et ſi ſubſtantiam auferre, auferat, nudus exivi ex utero matris mea, nudus etiam revertar*; If the Queene will have me go into baniſhment, let her baniſh me; The earth is the Lords, and all that therein is. If ſhe will have me ſawen in ſunder, I ſubmit my ſelf; *Iſaias* ſuffered ſo before me. If ſhe will confiſcate my goods, I am contented; Naked came I out of my mothers wombe, and naked muſt I returne again. Behold, this muſt be the patience of the Saints. Apoc. 13. 10.

Sixtly, by ſupplying meanes, *Ad neceſſaria ſecundum ſtatûs ſui conditionem*; *Lyr.* paying due tribute to our Princes; for this is the manner, *Quomodo velit te ſubjici proteſtatibus, redere jubens cui Tributum, Tributum: cui Vectigal, Vectigal*; (i.e.) *quæ ſunt Cæſaris, Cæſari, & quæ Dei Deo. Tertul.* Which tribute muſt be paid without limitation of the quantity before, or accompt of the diſpoſing of it after payment, *Gloſſ. Ordinar*, If *Calvin* underſtand it aright, (which I dare not aſſure, nor will I diſpute) for, *Neque noſtrum eſt vel Principibus præſcribere, quantum in res ſingulas impendant, vel eos ad calculum vocare*: We have no power to preſcribe to Princes what they ſhall expend upon occaſions, nor to call them to accompt for their imployment of what is expended which I conceive to be intended where there are not *Pacta inter Principem & Populum*: nor fundamentall Lawes of the Land to the contrary. *Calv. in ver. 6.*

Seaventhly, we muſt expreſſe our ſubjection by guarding of the Princes perſon, fighting for him upon occaſion, and ſparing him from going out with us to battell, leſt he ſhould quench the light of *Iſrael*, (2 *Sam.* 21.17.) And what kind of conſciences thoſe men have, who can let their leige Lord go out to battell without them, (they being required) or who can leave him in his Tents in the field, when they return to their own houſes, I leave both to men experienced in the Word, and practiced in the ſword to conſider: and ſo proceed. 2 Sam. 8. 11, 12. Et 10. 26. 2 Sam. 2. 2 Sam. 11. 11.

3. To the third part of my Text, which is the neceſſity of this

duty of subjection, implyed in these words [*must needs.*] Must is for the King, and so it is indeed: and so is this: And therefore implies a double duty by these two words [*must*] and [*needs*] termes of double necessity; *Dominus opus habet*, Our Lord the King, the Lord of us and all we have hath need, and who will not then let all go presently? He must have it: in case of true absolute, imminent necessity, to save our selves and the publique, according to the Laws of the Land: The supporting of His State is that *Vnum necessarium* for our safeties, and the safety of the whole Kingdom; and therefore the Apostle doth doth not onely say, 1. It is convenient that we be subject (*i.e.*) for ornament sake. 2. Or it is fit that we be subject (*i.e.*) for order sake. 3. Or it is profitable that we be subject (*i.e.*) for providence and discretion sake. 4. Or it is contenting that we may be subject (*i.e.*) for peace and quiet sake. 5. But Ἀνάγκη, It is necessary *Obligationes juris & propter vim coactivam superioris, viz. quia tenemini & potestis ad hoc compelli ad profitendam veram subjectionem.* [*We must needs be subject*] for absolute necessity sake: *Necessitate salutis, Aq.* even for the necessity of our salvation in Heaven, and of our safety upon earth. What is it but subjection which continues the blessed Harmony in Heaven amongst the Angels? What is it but Rebellion which bred that confusion in Hell amongst the damned spirits? What is it but subjection which can continue Peace, Plenty, Piety, Order, and Unanimity amongst men upon earth, Whereas Rebellion brings forth War, Waste, Wickednesse, Confusion; Desolation, and Destruction: wherefore for avoiding these, and preserving those, *We must needs be subject.* And so I come

Matth. 21. 3.

Luke 10. 42.

Dion: Carth:

4. To the persons obliged, which is the fourth thing proposed in my Text, in this word [*Ye*] Καὶ ἱερεύς εἰ τις, κἂν μοναχὸς, κἂν Ἀπόστολος. *Theoph.* And so Saint *Chrysostome* before him, Δείκνυς ὅτι πᾶσι ταῦτα διατάττεται, καὶ Ἱερεῦσι, καὶ μοναχοῖς, οὐχὲ τοῖς βιωτικοῖς μονὸν. With whom consent *Theodoret* and *Oecumenius* amongst the *Greeks*, and *Greg. Mag.* and S. *Bernard* amongst the *Latines*, expresse themselves both in opinion and phrase to the selfe same purpose; we the Clegy, ye the Laity; we the Priests, ye the people; or ye the mighty Peeres, we the many multitude. 1. For neither are Peers excepted and reserved like the *Lacedemonian* Ephori, *Romane* Tribunes, or *Athenian* Demarchi, to restraine the insolencies or exorbitances of Princes oppressions. 2. Nor are the Priests exempted

Calv. Inst. l. 4. c. 20.

empted like the *Roman* Hierarchie, to be insolent and exorbitant in the Common-weale. 3. Nor are the people priviledged (as is pretended by some schismaticall *Demagogi*) to carry all by force of their collective body; But we and ye, 1. Peers, 2. Priests, 3. People, must all needs be subject: And that *Buchan.*

5. [*Not onely for feare, but even for conscience sake.*] Which is the last member proposed for prosecution. [*Not onely for feare*] And yet we must be subject for feare too, which, *Cogit vel invitos, Marlorat.* Compels those that have no Conscience; *Imo & possunt potestates etiam sine causa irasci, Hieron.* And yet we must feare and be subject too (though they oppresse our tender conscience) for feare of punishment from God, and from the Prince. *Theophylact. Lombard.*

1. From God, who will not suffer his Ordinance to be contemned; *Non enim privati est hominis abrogare imperium ei quem Dominus cum potestate nobis præfecit. Calv.*

2. From the Prince; for, *Vltionem reposcere possunt magistratus ob dignitatis suæ contemptum. Idem.* They may justly avenge the contempt of their authority, 1. Either by their Laws, by which *In legum transgressores & inobedientes severiter animadvertunt: Marlorat.* Or else by Armes; for, *Portat gladium,* He bears the sword, (*vers.* 4.) And if He draw it against Schismatiques, Heretiques, or Rebellious persons, *Magistratus justè punit gladio, Aug.* They must not cast off feare, and incourage themselves and their company against his commands, as if resisting for the cause of God (as they pretend) they were to be accounted Martyrs; for they are no more capable of Martyrdome, dying in contempt of lawfull Magistracie, then the Idol Priests, or the devils themselves were by the subversion of their Temples, or ceasing of their Oracles, by vertue of our Saviours Incarnation; or by the command of the Emperour, converted to Christianity: *Aug. ubi supra.* But on the contrary it may be verified, that they who under the royall command of a rightfull King, obediently, conscionably, zealously, and couragiously fight against a Schismaticall, or Hereticall Rebellious people, (who make Religion the pretext for Rebellion) if they die, they dye Martyrs, if they live, they live Confessors: and therefore we must feare even the Princes sword. That I may not insist upon losse of favour, friends, honour, credit, and the like; Although a wise man will consider even in this, that the indignation of a King is as the roaring of a Lion; *Lib. 1. & Parmen. c. 7.* *Prov. 20. 2.*

Amos 3 8. Lion; and if this Lion roare, who can but be afraid? for he that provoketh him to anger, ſins againſt his owne ſoule; and what then ſhall become of his body? Or if any be ſo fool-hardy as not to feare, yet muſt he be ſubject nevertheleſſe, *Not onely for feare,*

[*But even for conſcience ſake.*] *Non ſolùm, quia reſiſtere potentioribus & armatis impunè non liceret, quemadmodum tolerari ſolent injuria quæ propulſari nequeunt: Sed ſponte docet obeundam hanc ſubmiſſionem, ad quam verbo Dei obſtringitur conſcientia: Cal.* Not onely becauſe they are armed and can over-maſter us, for ſo men ſuffer injuries from private men, becauſe they cannot withſtand them: but the Apoſtle teacheth, that a Chriſtian is bound to ſubjection to his Soveraigne by the Word of God; and the tye of conſcience more firme and cloſe, then by a Souldiers Belt, or Jaylors Bolts and Manacles: So that, *Etiamſi certò conſtaret nos manus illorum (alioqui valde longas) poſſe effugere: Marlorat.* Although we were aſſured that we could ſcape their reach, or oppoſe their power: Yea, *Etiamſi exarmatus eſſet magiſtratus quem impunè laceſſere, & contemnere liceret, nihilo magis id tentandum quàm ſi pœnam ſtatim imminere cerneremus.* Although the Magiſtrate had neither Armes, nor Armies, ſo that men might provoke and contemne his power in reſpect of puniſhment, muſt we not preſume to neglect him any more, then if we did ſee Armes and Armies, Racks and Gibbets, and all engines for execution prepared before us? *Quia niſi omnino ſubjiciamini Principi polluta eſſet conſcientia veſtra obvians divinæ ordinationi, Bruno.* Becauſe unleſſe we be abſolutely ſubject to our Prince (pretend what purity we will) our conſcience is defiled, and every ſtep wee march againſt him, we ſet our ſelves in battell array againſt the Ordinance of God: And indeede I cannot but wonder what hard hearts and cauterized conſcienees thoſe men have, who doe not preſently ſmite themſelves, and their hearts die within them like *Nabals* when they find themſelves guilty of ſubtracting ſubjection from their Prince, (a greater ingratitude then which cannot be excogitated, and ingratitude is one of the greateſt ſinnes;) for Subjects are obliged.

Ambroſ. Theophylact.

Calv.

1 Sam. 25. 37.

1. By the rule of right Reaſon, to obey him, without whom we cannot be ſafe; but without the King the Common-weale cannot bee ſafe, nomore then a ſhip without a Pilot in a ſtormy

my Ocean; And therefore by the rule of right reaſon we muſt obey him.

2. By naturall equity, which bindes to do good to them which do good to us, but Kings and Princes do good to us, for by their meanes we obtaine great quietneſſe, and by their providence many worthy things are done to our Nation: By them we receive honour, enjoy riches, peace, plenty, and freely profeſſe and practice piety: and therefore even for naturall equity, *We muſt needs be ſubject*, which is the leaſt good we can doe to them. Act. 24.2.

3. By morall civility we are bound to be ſubject to him who protects us: But Kings and Princes protect us from evill doers, who would violently take away our lives, inſolently uſurpe our lands, prodigally miſpend our goods, laciviouſly deflowr and raviſh our wives, & mercileſly ſlave our children, yea, they are the Protectors and defenders of our faith, and therefore we are bound at leaſt not to rebell ſithence all theſe miſchiefes have been, are, & will be the effects of ſuch diſobedience, from which *Good Lord deliver us.*

4. By Chriſtian Religion and conſcience, which enjoyns, that we muſt not reſiſt the Ordinance of God: but Kings and Princes are the Ordinance of God, and therefore we muſt not reſiſt them. *verſ.* 1, 2.

And doe 1. Right reaſon, 2. Naturall equity, 3. Morall civility, 4. Chriſtian Religion and conſcience oblige us to ſubjection? Oh then take heed, and never truſt any (though never ſo faire Profeſſors) who pretend conſcience to countenance diſobedience, at leaſt to caſt off ſubjection, as it is hard to diſobey and not to rebel. Yet ſuch alwayes have been the faire pretence of the fouleſt practiſes. Thus the colour of the common good to free the people from Subſidies, Taxes, and Oppreſſions (which then ſeemed by their Governours to lye upon them) led the people of the *Iews*, yea and ſome *Romans* too, to follow *Theudas*, *Iudas* of *Galile*, *Catiline*, and their companions. Thus the Rebels of elder times in this Iſland, chriſtned their Inſurrections, the Army of God & the holy Church, making Religion the Patroneſſe of their impiety. *Iack Straw*, *Iack Cade*, *Wat Tyler*, Fryer *Ball*, alias *Wall*, and ſuch others, made 1. The oppreſſion of the Commons, 2. The inſolencie of the Nobility, 3. The covetouſneſſe of the Prieſts, and the inequality of men of equall merit, the vail of all their violence *Ioſep. Antiq. Iudai. l.* 18. *c.* 1. *& l.* 20. *c* 6. *Saluſt. conjurat. Catilin. Speed.*

and

Hollinſhed Rich. 2. p. 429. Graſton p. 330, 331. and villany. Thus the Rebellion in the *North*, *Lincolnſhire*, and *Norfolke*, were raiſed under pretence of 1. Reforming Religion, 2. Freedome of Conſcience, and 3. Bettering the Commonweale; yea, and they are alwayes masked under the vizard of, 1. *Pro Lege*, 2. *Pro Grege*, 3. *Pro Rege*; whereas indeed they are againſt the King, break the Laws, and make ſpoile of the people, as *Ioſephus* relates the ſtory of the Rebellious *Iews*, pretending onely againſt *Florus* harſh, unjuſt, and cruell uſage, and not againſt the *Romanes*: But as King *Agrippa* cleares it by his Remonſtrance, They did but onely ſay ſo; for their actions were ſuch as worſe could not have beene done by the greateſt Enemies of the *Romane* Empire, for they ſacked the Townes, robbed the Treaſuries, burnt the Houſes, waſted the Fields; neither were they the Townes, the Treaſuries, the Houſes, the Fields of *Florus*, but of the *Roman* Empire. I will not make Application, but ſith hence theſe things have ever beene ſo, I will onely conclude with *Solomons* Admonition: *My ſon, feare God and the King, and meddle not with them that are ſeditious; for ſuddenly ſo all their deſtruction come, and who knoweth the ruine of them?* Yet certaine it is that ruined they ſhall be, and perhaps when themſelves leaſt ſuſpect it, ſuddenly as with the Arrow of Lightning ſhot from the Bow of God, which may ſerve as a Corollary to our Apoſtles premiſes to inforce this concluſion, [*Wherefore ye muſt needs be ſubject, not onely for wrath, but even for conſcience ſake.*] Which God grant us all grace to be, for Jeſus Chriſts ſake, the Patterne and Patron of perfect obedience; to whom with the Father and the holy Ghoſt, be all honour, glory, power, might, majeſty, and dominion, from this time forth for evermore. *Amen.*

L. 2. de Bello Iudaic. c. 16.

Naucler.

Prov. 24. 21, 22.

BRITISH

FINIS.

CHRISTVS DEI, 19.

The LORDS Annoynted.

OR,

A Theologicall Diſcourſe, wherein is proved, that the Regall or Monarchicall power of Our Soveraigne Lord

KING CHARLES

Is not of Humane, but of divine Right, and that GOD is the ſole Efficient cauſe thereof, and not the people.

Alſo that every MONARCH is above the whole Common-wealth, and is not onely *Major Singulis*, but *Major Univerſis*.

Written in *Anſwer* to a late *Printed Pamphlet* intituled, *Obſervations upon ſome of His* MAIESTIES *late Anſwers* and *Expreſſes*.

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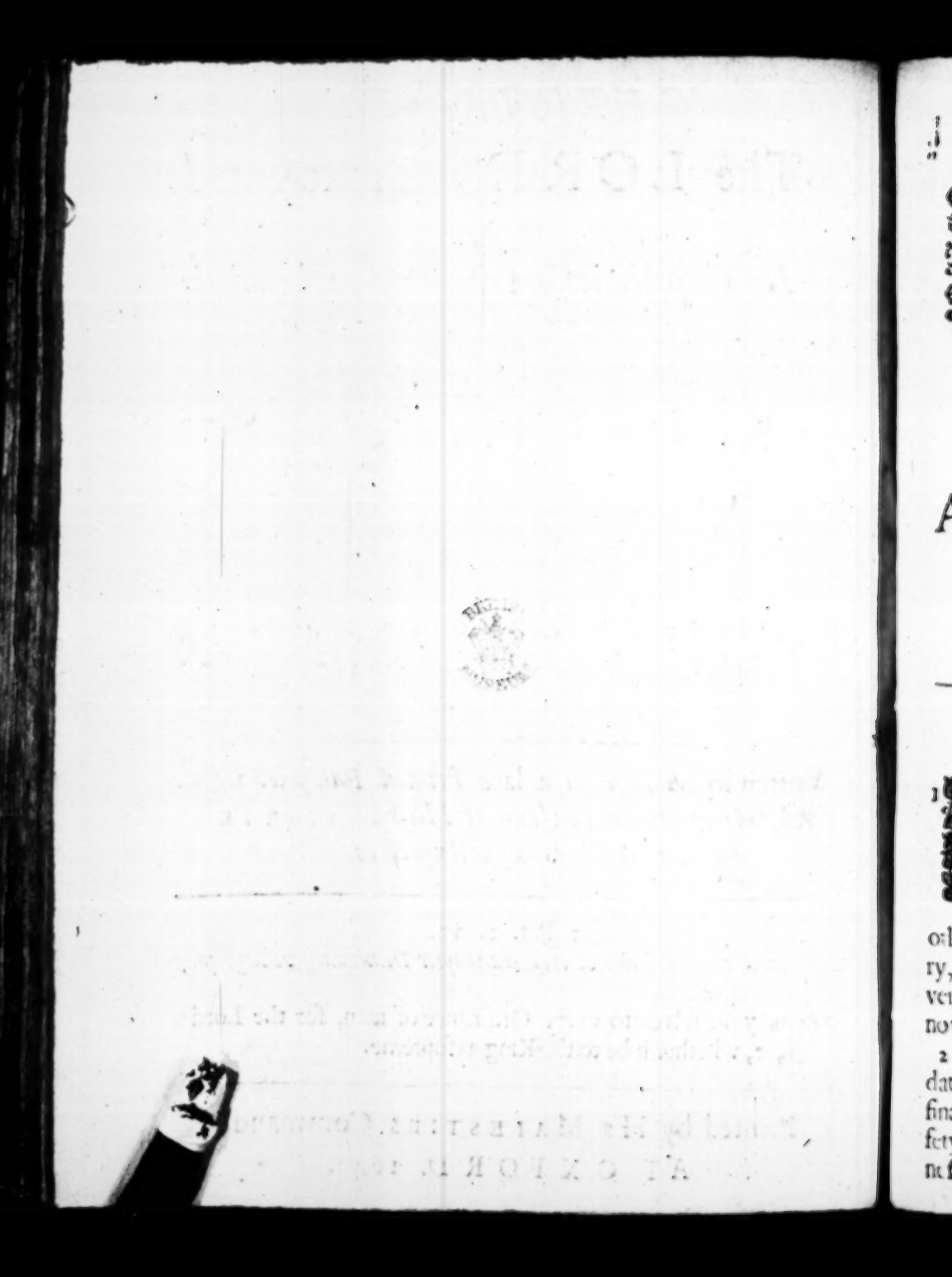
1 Pet. 2. 13.

Subjecti eſtote omni humanæ creaturæ propter Dominum, ſive Regi quaſi Præcellenti.

Submit your ſelves to every Ordinance of man, for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the King as ſupreme.

Printed by His MAIESTIES Command

AT OXFORD. 1643.



CHRISTVS DEI,

OR,

A Theologicall Diſcourſe, wherein

is proved, that Regall Power is not of Humane,
but of Divine Right, and that God only is the Efficient
cauſe thereof, and not the People.

Preface.

1 THere is a Book come forth of late, barely intituled, Obſervations upon ſome of His Majeſties late Anſwers and Expreſſes, without any name of the Author or place where it was printed. Wherein the Obſerver (ſo I muſt call him not knowing him by any other name) aimes chiefly and directly to prove, that the Hereditary, Regall, and Monarchicall power of our now preſent dread Soveraigne King *Charles*, is inferiour and ſubject to the power of the now preſent Parliament.

2 Which to evince he undertakes to lay down the originall foundation of all Regall power whatſoever, according to the efficient & finall cauſes thereof. And having made the finall cauſe to be the ſafety of the people, together with their Civill or Politicall happineſſe; he alſo makes the efficient cauſe to be, not God, but only the

people,and the instrumentall cause of conveying and deriving this Regall Power to be,not any divine law,nor nothing else (amongst Christians)but the meere humane pactions and Agreements of the Politick body of the people. And then arguing by a rule in nature; that *quicquid efficit tale est magis tale*, he issueth out this just inference (as he calleth it) that though the King be *singulis major*, yet he is *universis minor*,and therefore inferior and subject in power to the Parliament.

3 Having perused this discourse,and finding it to be most injurious to Regall Power or Monarchy, contrary to the true principles of State and Divinity, or Orthodox Christian Doctrine: I thought I might do my King and Country good service, to confute these desperate and more than dangerous Positions, by declaring and proving the true Originall foundation,according to the finall and efficient causes of Regall or Monarchicall Power: which (with Gods good helpe) I hope to do perspicuosly in the few ensuing Paragraphes.

Sect. 1.

Of the Primary Finall cause; as also of the efficient cause of all Civill Societies or Republiques.

Because whatsoever is done, is done for some end or purpose, without which it should not have been done,nor had a being: therfore it is the constant Doctrine of all Philosophers, that the end is the chief and Principall of all causes: and therefore, for methods sake I will begin with it. Now to find out the Primary end of all Civill Societies or Commonwealths,we, that are Christians,must reflect attentively upon those words of the holy Ghost. Pro. 16.4. *Universa propter semet ipsum operatus est Dominus.* By which we are ascertained, that God Almighty created not only all other Creatures; but all man-kind also, as for their Primary end,for himselfe, and his own Praise and glory.

And as for man in particular, God created him to his owne image and likeness,endowing him with an understanding and a wil, that he might know how to honour and love his Creator, and by such love & honour might finally become happy in the fruition of his

his eternall, unſpeakable and ineſtimable glory in heaven: for means whereto, firſt God dictated certaine Divine precepts and principles unto man, & imprinted them with his very creation upon his natural reaſon (for which cauſe they are called divine natural Laws written in every mans heart, ſaith St. *Paul. Rom.* 2.15.) that every man might be equally capable to know them, and equally obliged to obey them. Secondly, God infuſed into him *Faith*, *hope*, and *Charity*, and other ſupernaturall virtues, all tending to this conducement, that man following them as his guides, might, through his obedience to God, attain to his owne ſalvation. Thirdly, to binde man more ſtrongly to his ſubjection, and to make it appeare more illuſtriouſly unto him, that therein principally conſiſted his Welfare, as the very End and Center, for and towhich he was created, He gave him an expreſſe divine Law, not to eate of the tree in the midſt of Paradiſe upon pain of death. Fourthly, by Revelation he inſtructed him in many particular ſacred formes and Rites of exteriour divine worſhip, as ſacrifice and other; for though we read not any where in holy Writ, that *Adam* offered Sacrifice, no more than we doe of *Iſaac*; yet we read there that *Cain* and *Abel* did, and that *Abraham* and *Iacob* did. But it cnnot be imagined that *Cain* and *Abel* were the firſt Inventors of this moſt, religious and divine worſhip, (no more than that *Iſaac* dd neglect it) but by Paternall tradition and example they received it from *Adam*.

3. All which duely conſidered, it willappeare evidently, that the primary end for which all men are created, is to ſerve, honour, love, obey, and worſhip God. From whence it follows, that this being mans higheſt and principalleſt concerne, it ought alſo to be his higheſt and pincipalleſt careto attend to it. But moſt certaine it is, that men, living divided and ſcattered over the face of the world without the inſtruction and aſſiſtance one of another cannot poſſibly performe this for every particular mans behoofe, as is requiſite. And therefore from this finall cauſe aroſe primarily a neceſſity amongſt men to unite and combine themſelves into civill Societies and Common-wealths. This end could not be prefixed by men; but men were created for this end by God. And therefore this is the primary, ſpirituall, ſupernaturall, and divine finall cauſe of all Republikes, to which every other end muſt be but ſecondary, ſubordinate, and ſubſervient.

4. And

4 And from hence it followeth further, that ſince on the one ſide no naturall agent can by it's naturall power compaſſe the attaining of a ſupernaturall end; and on the other ſide Civill Societies ought not to be inſtituted in vaine: we muſt needs conclude, that the Primary efficient cauſe of all Common-wealths is only God.

Paragr. 2.

Of the Secondary finall Cauſe, and alſo the only Efficient Cauſe of all Civill Societies and Republiques.

1 Every Creature in the world ſtrives to preſerve its own kind. We ſee what paines and Care Beaſts and Birds take to reare their younglings. Trees and Plants beare fruits and ſeeds to produce the like when they are periſhed. Yea, the inanimate Creatures (according to their predominant Element and mixture) ſtrive every one to obtaine and enjoy their Center. And all this not only for their own particular, but alſo for the harmonious Accommodation and preſervation of the Vniverſe, the great and moſt excellent work of nature, wherein ſhe doth nothing in vaine. But in vaine had man been, if he alſo had not been provided of neceſſary meanes towards the Preſervation of his kind. For which cauſe God ſaid it was not good for man to be alone: and therefore gave him a Woman to be his Helper, that ſo by meanes of generation he might propagate his ofſpring to the worlds end.

2 This Preſervation then of mankind, is the maine naturall and ſecondary end of man. And to ths end God gave him his bleſſing to increaſe and multiply, from whence ariſeth, that of neceſſity there muſt be at leaſt private families. But man and Woman finding (by wofull experience) moſt true what God ſaid to *Adam* and *Eve*; that he ſhould eate his bread in the ſweat of his browes, that ſhe ſhould bring forth her children in paine, found alſo preſently, that every private family is not ſufficient of it ſelf to maintaine ths work of Preſervation, without the help of one another. For firſt, to ſay nothing of womens deliveries in chld-birth, which cannot poſſibly alwayes and every where be performed requiſitely by themſelves and their families, without the help of ſome other, or others: and

yet

yet even upon this preſervation of mankind holds a moſt neceſſary and principall dependance. I will onely ſpeak of mans part, who with the ſweat of his browes, with extream toyle and labour muſt provide food and cloathing, and all other neceſſary ſupports and ſuſtentations for his family. But to doe this he muſt of neceſſity (I ſpeak not of barbarous inhumane people) have ſome certaine place of aboad; and in this he muſt have ſome peculiar right, ſome propriety of poſſeſſion, by vertue whereof he may reap the fruits of the earth, and maintaine his Cattel. And how ſhall every private family be able to doe this with ſecurity? will not every one ſtrive for the beſt poſſeſſion? will not the ſhepheards of *Abraham* and *Lot*, and of *Iſaac* and *Gerara* fall to contention for water and paſtures, & ſuch like other neceſſary elbow roome? And in theſe uncivill and unſociable quarrells, muſt not all private families be made like to the fiſhes of the ſea. *Hab.* 11. 13. 14. where the ſtronger muſt devour the weaker?

3. Secondly, God endowed man in in his creation with an underſtanding and a will. This underſtanding is of that infinite capacity, that it hath for its Adæquate Object *omne ens* as it is *verum* And man therefore is in perpetuall and reſtleſſe ſearch of knowledge, to perfect his underſtanding by experience and learning, The wil alſo hath for her Adæquate Object *omne ens* as it is *bonum*. And man therefore is in perpetuall purſuit of Reciprocall love to perfect his will by friendſhip and juſtice. Over and above theſe, God gave to man the faculty of ſpeech, to be the reciprocall conveyance of learning and friendſhip. So as for this very reaſon *Ariſtotle* ſayd excellently wel, that man is by nature a ſociable creature, for neyther warning nor friendſhip, nor juſtice (in which conſiſts eſſentially mans Civill or Politicall happineſſe) nor ſafety or ſecurity (which is the only preſervation of every mans being) can poſſibly be acquired & maintayned in the diviſion of men in their priviate families. And therefore for this very end it was naturally neceſſary for men to unite and aſſociate themſelves into *Civill Societies* and *Communities*, that ſo they might preſerve thir Kind.

From the learning, experience and Induſtery of the underſtanding proceed all Arts, Tillage, Manufactures, Trade, and Traffique, which

which bring in Gaine, and that brings plenty, from the friendſhip and juſtice of the will proceed Peace and ſecurity: in which ſecure peace and plenty conſiſteth perfect *ſalus populi*. Now ſince this cannot be had in divided private families, & without this there can be no preſervation of Man-kind, it followes, that Civill Societies or Commonwealths are naturally neceſſary. Whoſe naturall finall cauſe is truely and onely (in the manner as I have explicated) *Salus populi*.

Now furthermore, ſeeing that Common-wealth is not the deſigne of Art and Invention of particular men, nor of any poſitive law of theirs, but proceeds from the Common neceſſity of all man-kind, intimated unto them by the Law of nature, of which God is the ſole cauſe and Author: it followeth that the efficient cauſe of all Republiques is onely God.

Sect 3.

Of the Finall and Efficient cauſe of Civill Power in a Commonwealth.

1. As for the finall cauſe there is little or no difficulty; for ſeeing that the finall cauſe of every thing muſt needs be that, which that thing neceſſarily refers unto, as to its end for which it is done or hath its being: it is manifeſt, that ſince civill ſocieties have for their naturall and ſecondary finall cauſe *Salus populi*; the power alſo which muſt not be *ad deſtructionem*, but *ad ædificationem*, to maintaine thoſe civill ſocieties, can have no other finall cauſe, but that whereunto they direct and are directed, which is *Salus Populi*.

2. The materiall cauſe in whch this power originall, reſides and inheres; as the former to make up a compleat Body of a Common-wealth, is the people. And ſo the Obſerver ſayth verie well in this kind of cauſe, power is originally inherent in the people: moſt certaine then it is, that even at the very firſt uniting themſelves into a Civill ſociety, there is an inherent power in the people to governe themſelves, and by ſuch Government to preſerve themſelves in ſafety. For this is the onely neceſſary naturall end for which they met (as I have very briefely ſhewene before) that they might bee able and

pow

powerfull to ſecure themſelves, and preſerve their kind. But this meeting would have been in vaine, and this preſervation wholly made fruſtrate, if there were not this power inherent in them.

3. If in the naturall body of man there were not an interiour Directive Governing Power to guide every particular member in the operative uſe of its function, and to contrive thoſe operations to the mutuall good of one another, and the conſervation of the whole man; that body could not poſſibly but ſuddenly periſh. For if the teeth will not chew, nor the throat ſwallow, nor the hands reach, nor the feet ſtirre, nor the eyes look out, when nature requires her neceſſary food, ſhe and they and all muſt ſtarve. So in a politicall Pody; if all members ſhould do what they liſt, and ſhould not be compelled by ſome abſolute power to contribute their ſtrengths and endevours to the preſervation of one another, and the whole Community, it would be but *Regnum in ſe diviſum*, that of neceſſity muſt fall to deſolation, as the holy Ghoſt confirms alſo elſe where, ſaying *Prov.* 11. 14 *Ubi non eſt Gubernator diſſipabitur Populus.*

4 The maine difficulty is: who is the efficient cauſe of this power, Wherein, not to be tedious to my Reader, but to yield him the ſatisfaction of his expectation in a briefe and reſolute anſwer, I preſent unto him this Decretory Aſſertion. This power is not a humane but a divine Right; and God onely is the immediate efficient cauſe thereof. This I prove by five Arguments.

5. *Arg.* 1. There is a rule in nature (to uſe the Obſervers owne words) *Quod dat eſſe dat conſequentia ad eſſe.* But the *eſſe* of a Republike cannot have a *ſimpliciter eſſe* without the *eſſe* of this power. Therefore he that is the efficient cauſe of the Republique, is alſo the efficient cauſe of this power. But (as I have prov'd before SECT. 2. *n.* 5.) God is the ſole efficient cauſe of all Republiques, therfore he is alſo the ſole efficient cauſe of this power.

6 *Arg.* 2. The Primary finall cauſe of Civill Societies (as I have prov'd SECT. 1.) is divine worſhip, which man could not prefix to himſelf as his end, but he was created by God for and to that end, and onely God prefixed that end to man. Therefore this is a divine end which cannot be atchieved without a divine

Power (as I have alſo proved in the ſame *Section*, *n.* 4.) onely God then is the immediate Efficient cauſe of this power.

7. And from thence it proceeds, that Kings, acknowledging themſelves to have received this divine power, principally for this primary end, their Oathes at their Coronation are (as the Obſerver very grutchingly granteth) more preciſe in the care of Canonicall Priviledges, and of Biſhops and Clergy men, than of the Commonalty: and not from the reaſon which he gives. *viz.* becauſe they were penned by Popiſh Biſhops. For whether the Biſhops were Popiſh or Proteſtant, ſurely they are not to be blamed *ex hoc capite*, but moſt highly to be reverenced, that according to their profeſſion and duty they put Kings in mind, in the firſt place, of divine worſhip, and their owne and their peoples eternall ſalvation depending thereupon. And I cannot underſtand why the Obſerver ſhould give that reaſon, but onely to ſeduce the Vulgar into a baſe and profane miſconceiving and vilifying of the royal power of Kings, and their ſacred Oathes. For Popiſh without all doubt in his Dictionary ſignifieth ſuperſtitious at leaſt, if not Idolatrous. But, if it be ſuperſtition for a man to be more preciſe in the care of Divine Worſhip, and his ſoules everlaſting ſalvation, than of any other his temporall end or affaire (ſee *Section* 1. *n.* 3.) in vaine then have all Chriſtians hitherto believed that they were in a true Religion. Let the Obſerver conſider what cenſure he deſerves for thus finding fault with Kings Oathes, and whether hee gives not juſt cauſe of ſuſpicion, that he is rather an Atheiſt than a Chriſtian. It is well knowne to all Chriſtians, that *Quærite primùm Regnum Dei & juſtitiam ejus* is no invention of Popiſh Biſhops, but our Bleſſed Saviours owne Doctrine and Rule, not only to Biſhops, but to all Kings and people whatſoever, as the principall, to which as an *Acceſſorium* followes, *& hæc omnia adjicientur vobis. Mat.* 6. 33.

8. *Art.* 3 When private families firſt joyned themſelves into a Common body of ſociety, before any *Conditum*, Paction, or Agreement amongſt themſelves, to enact poſitive Lawes for their government, there was an inherent power in them to enact ſuch Lawes. For who can make a Law without a power? But this power, not being the effect, but the moſt neceſſary cauſe of

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all humane pactions, or positive Lawes, cannot have its origen from man, but onely from God. *Ergo* God is the sole Efficient cause of this power.

9. *Arg.* 4. When men first associated themselves into a Common-wealth, they were all of equall Right and Power, so that none (I speake of severall families still as before) could challenge superiority the one over the other. For, this divine naturall power, *viz. Se defendere, & vim vi repellere,* was inherent in every one of them, and obligeing them. The power then which accrewed to to the aggregation of the whole society, was not made but brought, as being no other than what was in all and every particular Member of that society before. But that is a Divine power, and the immediate effect of God. *Ergo.* And indeed in the due managing or excercising of this divine naturall law of *se defendendo*, and *vim vi repellendo* consists totally the security and *Salus Populi*, and the power of the Common-wealth to maintain it.

10. *Arg.* 5. God Almighty is so solely the Legislator and Author of his owne Lawes, without the concurrence or consent of any other Councell, (*quis enim consiliarius ejus fuit, aut quis prior dedit ei? Rom.* 11. 33.) That they have their establishment onely in and by his own will. So that no power whatsoever of his Creatures, can by any contraition against him, invalid or annull those Lawes. But *non occides* is a Divine naturall Law and precept expressed in the Decalogue. Therefore no Pactions or agreements of men can give this power of putting a man to death, no more than *Cain* could kill *Abel.* But on the other side it is manifest, that Republikes have a lawfull power of putting men to death, without which they could not preserve their owne safety. Therefore they have it from God. And how soon God gave this power to men I know not, nor cannot find, untill after the floud; when *Gen.* 9. 6. we read this expresse positive divine Law and precept given to the Civill Magistrate. *Quicunque effuderit humanum sanguinem, fundetur sanguis illius.*

Sect. 4.

1. The Finall Cauſe of Regall power muſt of neceſſity be the ſame that is of the Common-wealth, becauſe the King is the adminiſtrator of the power of the Common-wealth, to the ſame end no doubt, for which it was firſt ordained: of which having ſpoken largely before, I have no need to ſay any thing here.

2. The maine queſtion is, who is the efficient cauſe of Regall or Monarchicall power? Which the Obſerver boldly averres to be, not God, but the people. And upon this falſe ground he vents all thoſe ſwarmes of falſe inferences throughout his whole diſcourſe.

3. But before I lay down the true Reſolution of this queſtion, I muſt deſire my reader to mark with good heed the great difference that is between the power it ſelfe of a Common-wealth, and the authority to adminiſter that power: for the people may be the Efficient Cauſe of this ſecond, though not of the firſt. As for example, the Aldermen of London may elect, nominate, and conſtitute ſuch or ſuch a man to be their Lord Major to adminiſter the power that belongs to the Corporation of that City; and herein they may be the Efficient cauſe of his Authority to adminiſter the power of the City, but not of his power; becauſe that is the gift of the King by his Charter, of which his Majeſty therefore is the onely efficient cauſe, and not the Aldermen, nor all the people of that Corporation whatſoever.

4. I have proved all along in the precedent *Sections*, that the Civill power of a Common-wealth, is not a humane, but divine power, of which, not the people, but God onely is the Efficient cauſe. It is true indeed, that it is in the voluntary election of the people to authorize one, or few, or more with the adminiſtration of this power. And as long as this Authority is ſtill elective in the people, they may by conſent of the major part alter their forme of Gubernation into Democraticall, Oligarchicall, Ariſtocraticall, or Monarchicall, as they pleaſe. And herein the Obſerver ſaith truely, that God is no more the Author of Regall, than of Ariſtocraticall power: for whether this power be in many, or in one, it is ſtill the

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ſame divine power of the Common-wealth, though diverſly adminiſtred, of which God onely is the efficient cauſe. But when the people have once reſigned up all their authority into the hands of one, and his heires for ever, ſo that now it is not any longer elective in them, but hereditary in him: then not onely the power, but the authority alſo to adminiſter that power is ſolely inherent in him and his heires, unalterably and irrevocably for ever.

5. This then is my firſt Aſſertion. The Efficient cauſe of Regall or Monarchicall power, is not the people, but onely God. I ſpeak in this Aſſertion, not of conditionall Princes, but onely of abſolute Kings and Monarchs. My firſt proofe then is. When the people create a King, they elect his perſon, and authorize him with the adminiſtration of the abſolute power which is inherent in the whole Common-wealth to governe it ſelfe: otherwiſe he is no abſolute King, of whom onely I ſpeak, and ſo doth the obſerver alſo. But this power (as I have proved) is not an humane, but a divine power, of which God onely is the Efficient Cauſe. Therefore God onely, and not the people is the Efficient Cauſe of Regall power.

6. My ſecond proofe, God ſaith expreſſely, *Prov.* 8. 15. *Per me Reges regnant, &c.* Then their Dominion or power by which they reigne is immediately from God. Chriſt ſaith to *Pilate, Joh.* 19. 11. *Non haberes poteſtatem, &c. niſi tibi datum eſſet deſuper.* Then this power is not from below from men; but from above, from God. St. *Paul* ſaith, *Rom,* 13. 1. *Omnis anima poteſtatibus ſublimioribus ſubdita ſit: non eſt enim poteſtas niſi à Deo.* And *qui reſiſtit Poteſtati, Dei Ordinationi reſiſtit.* And, *non ſine cauſa gladium portat.* For what cauſe? *Dei enim miniſter eſt, vindex in iram, &c.* Then Regall Power is Divine power and the Ordinance of God, wherein the King is not the people, but Gods Miniſter, as being inveſted and annoynted interiorly in his perſon by him with a Divine power; of which the exteriour Vnction is a ſacred, Ceremonous, Commonefactive and ſolemne Teſtimony. And for this cauſe *Cyrus* though a Heathen King is called by God himſelfe. *Iſay* 45. 1. *Chriſtus meus*, Gods own annoynted. The holy King *Joſaphat* ſaith to thoſe whom he had conſtituted *Judge.* 2. *Paralip.* 19. 6. *Non homin*

hominis exercetis judicium, ſed Domini. Then it is not a humane power, but a divine power by which the King doth judge and rule his people.

From hence I infer two Corollaries.

7. The firſt: That there is a two-fold truſt in the King. The one of his power. The other of the adminiſtration of his power. The firſt is Gods truſt unto him, to exerciſe his divine judgements. The ſecond, is the peoples, to adminiſter it *Propter ſalutem populi.* But if he ſwerve herein; ſeeing that the power is divine and reſiding and inhering onely in him, and not in the people, he is not liable to the people, but onely to God.

8. The ſecond Corollarie. As God is the ſole efficient cauſe of Regall power; ſo the inſtrumentall cauſe which conveighes this power, is the divine naturall Law obliging men to unite themſelves into Civil ſocieties. For God gives a power to men to govern themſelves by obliging them to unite themſelves. And conſequently the election of the people (with all the Obſervers pactions and agreements) is but *Cauſa ſine qua non*, by way of approximation, that this divine power may reſide in thoſe few, or more, or one rather than in any other. As in my former example *n.* 3. The efficient cauſe of the Lord Majors power is onely the King. The inſtrumental cauſe by which this power is derived unto him, is the Charter of the City, granted to them at pleaſure, more ſtrictly or more largely by the King. And the Aldermens election of this or that particular man, is but the approximation, that the Kings power may reſide in him to governe the City, rather than in any other.

9. My ſecond Aſſertion. Every abſolute King (inveſted and annointed with a divine power by God himſelf to exerciſe his judgements through the election of the people to be ſole adminiſtrator therof) is in power *ſuper totam Rempublicam*; Superiour abſolutely over the whole Common-wealth. And therefore is not only *Major ſingulis*, but *Major Univerſis*, and *ſuper omnes ſimul.* This Aſſertion is evident out of the former. For the power that was inherent in the whole Common-wealth to exerciſe Gods judgements, and to governe and preſerve it ſelfe, was a divine power, not only *ſuper ſingulos*, but *ſuper omnes ſimul*, and therefore *Major Univerſis.* But this

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power is now totally and abſolutely inherent in the King only. *Ergo* he is *ſuper totam Rempublicam*: and *Major Univerſis*.

10. In confirmation of this argument, I argue thus. Either the whole power of the Common-wealth is in one, or no. If no, then he is no abſolute King or Monarch, contrary to our ſuppoſition. But if he be a Monarch, I aske againe; if there be a powet in the Common-wealth, which is not in him, is it ſubordinate to his power, or no? if it be ſubordinate, then his power is above that power, and ſo *ſuper totam Rempublicam*, and *Major Univerſis*. If it be not, then there are *ſimul & ſemel* two ſupream Civill powers in a Common-wealth, two ſupream contrary Maſters at once to be obeyed, one and the ſame individuall Kingdom and Gubernation, and yet divided againſt it ſelfe, which are moſt abſurd and impoſſible.

11. From hence it is evident, that his Majeſty ſayd moſt truely, and moſt learnedly; that the adminiſtration of the whole power of the Common-wealth being committed in truſt abſolutely and irrevocably to him and his heires for ever, it is impoſſible that a power above that truſt ſhould be committed to others.

12. This the Obſerver in effect plainly confeſſeth. But relapſing into his wonted Paroxiſmes of ſtrong malice againſt Regall Power, he labours (by his moſt falſe erroneous Principle *Rex eſt minor Univerſis*) and tires himſelfe in vaine to anſwer it. And becauſe the ſtrength of all his long tedious and farraginous diſcourſe depends wholly upon theſe two falſe grounds, *viz.* that the people is the efficient cauſe of Regall power; And that *Rex eſt minor Univerſis*; and I have manifeſtly confuted them both: I preſume I have alſo ſufficiently confuted all the reſt; and therefore conclude in thoſe ſacred words, *Data eſt a Domino Poteſtas Regibus, & virtus ab Altiſſimo.* Power is given to Kings of the Lord, and Soveraignty from the higheſt. *Sapient.* 6. 3.

FINIS.